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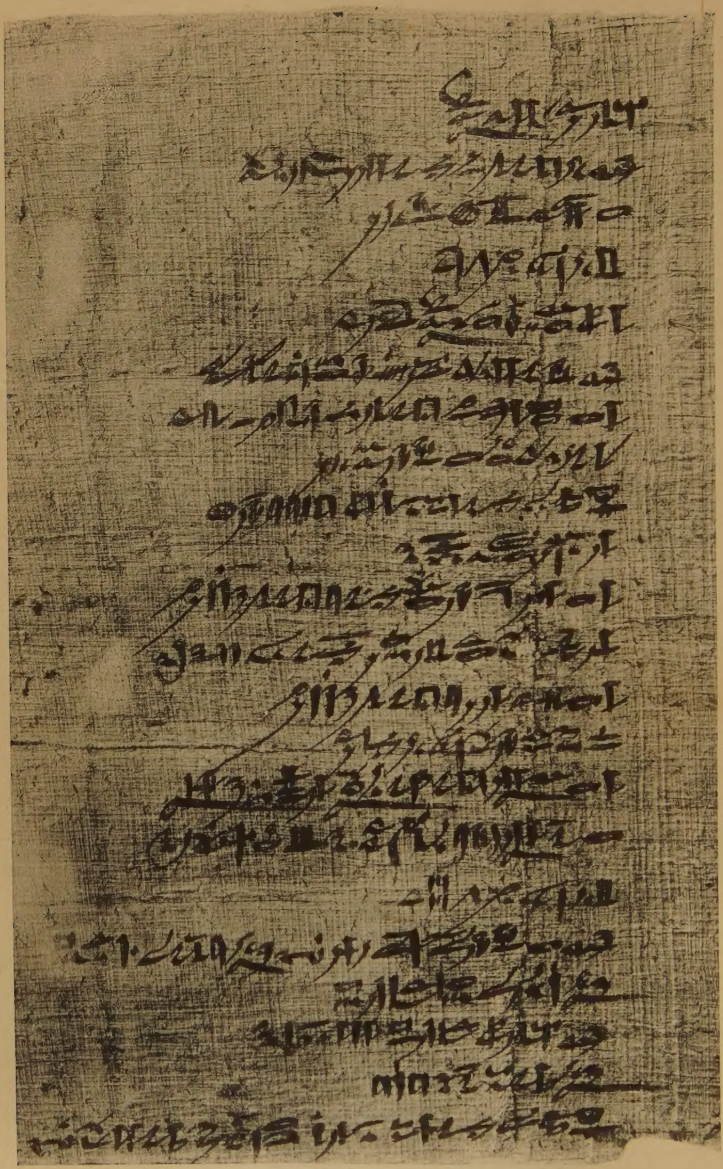

The Admonitions or Teaching of Amenemâpt, the son of Kanekht.
From Brit. Mus. Papyrus No. 10474, *col. XVII.*

THE TEACHING OF ȦMEN-EM-ȦPT, SON OF KANEKHT

THE EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHIC TEXT AND AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION, WITH TRANSLATIONS OF THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS TEACHINGS OF EGYPTIAN KINGS AND OFFICIALS ILLUSTRATING THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY IN EGYPT DURING A PERIOD OF ABOUT TWO THOUSAND YEARS, BY

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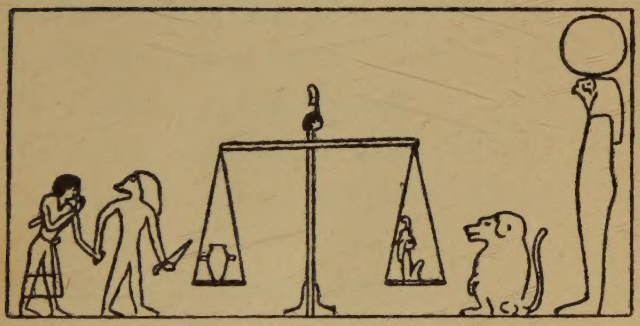

LONDON: MARTIN HOPKINSON AND COMPANY LTD: 14 HENRIETTA STREET, COVENT GARDEN. 1924

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Printed in Great Britain by
Harrison & Sons, Ltd., 44-47, St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C. 2.

299.31
B927p

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PREFACE

In the present volume a series of translations of the moral teachings of Egyptian kings and officials, arranged chronologically, has been brought together, so that the student of primitive Oriental Morality may be able to watch the evolution of moral ideas in Egypt through a period of about two thousand years, and their development into a religious philosophy of a very high character.

The immediate cause of the appearance of this work is the recent publication of the original hieratic text of the "Teaching of Âmen-em-âpt" in the Second Series of *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, London, 1923. I published a short account of it in the *Recueil d'Études Égyptologiques dédiées à la Mémoire de Jean François Champollion*, Paris, 1922, pp. 431–436, with a few extracts from the texts with translations. In the official publication I gave a longer description of its contents and a pioneer rendering of the greater part of the text, and added a hieroglyphic transcript[1] of the whole

[1] A writer about the volume has complained because this transcript was not printed column for column opposite to the hieratic text on the plates of the facsimile, but this method would have added more than thirty folio pages to the volume. The exigencies of official economy rendered such a costly form of publication impossible, just as they made it necessary to omit other hieroglyphic transcripts, and fuller translations and descriptions, which had been prepared to appear in the volume. There was no oversight in the matter; it was merely the need of rigid economy.

work. During the past years I recollated the text and succeeded in making out many of the passages that were obscure to me when writing the description of the papyrus for the official publication, and corrected a few misprints. There still remain passages in "Ámen-em-ȧpt's Teaching" as to the exact meaning of which I am uncertain, but these will no doubt be made clear when the text has been more fully examined.

Meanwhile it has been pointed out to me that the official publication is costly (£6 10s.), and that as the edition is small, the volume will be wholly inaccessible to many who wish to read and study the new teaching. It has been suggested that the publication of the revised hieroglyphic transcript and translation in a handy form would be acceptable to many, especially if they were accompanied by translations of the Teachings of Ptaḥ-ḥetep, Ṭuauf, King Khati, Ani and other writers of Moral Precepts for purposes of comparison. In accordance with this suggestion the present volume has been written.

We have now, thanks to the labours of M. E. Dévaud, a good critical edition of the Teaching of Ptaḥ-ḥetep, and for the first time a study of the Recensions of that work can be made. And Golénischeff has given us a complete reproduction of the papyri containing the Teaching of King Khati, with hieroglyphic transcripts. The importance of this little-known work, with its descriptions of the power and majesty of God and the Last Judgement, for the study of morality and religion

in Egypt cannot be over-estimated. The Teachings of Ṭuauf and Ani the Scribe are well-known, but the Rules that Ȧntef, the son of Sent, laid down for himself in the performance of his duty as a magistrate and highly trusted official, and that have been recently translated from Dr. Hall's text by Moret, will be new to many. The same may be said also of Seḥetepȧbrā's description of the greatness and might and majesty of Pharaoh his lord, whom he regarded as the counterpart of God. The value of the Moral and Religious Code which the followers of Osiris were bound to observe, if they wished to live in the kingdom of that god in the Hereafter, has been strangely overlooked, and a translation of it must necessarily appear in a book of this kind. For under the XVIIIth dynasty, if not earlier, it epitomized the whole Law, both moral and religious.

The Collections of moral and religious Teachings translated in the following pages were written between the IVth and XXIst dynasties; of their authors two, Khati and Ȧmen-em-ḥat, were kings, and the remainder were professional scribes and officials. The royal authors wrote their works for the exclusive benefit of their sons and heirs. The scribes and officials, with one exception, wrote their Teachings with the definite object of instructing their sons in the course that they should follow, if they wished to be appointed by the Pharaoh to positions similar to those held by their fathers. The exception, the Teaching of Ȧmen-em-ȧpt, is addressed to no son, whether prince

or subject, but to all men. Many of his Precepts would no doubt be of more use to officials than to any other class of people. But the greater number of his exhortations, especially those that inculcate respect for the aged, pity for the widow and the poor and the needy, mercy in judgement, sympathy with and compassion for the suffering and unfortunate, reverence for the dead and their tombs, and the showing of courtesy and kindness to all men, were written with the view of making every Egyptian love his neighbour and so serve God, whether he called him Rā or Åten. The kindly disposition of the man and his thoughtfulness for others is well illustrated by his admonition " Treat not the blind man with ridicule (*i.e.*, make a fool of him) and browbeat not the dwarf " (line 478).

A remarkable feature in the Teaching of Åmen-em-åpt is the omission of all precepts dealing with the relations of men with women, whether licit or illicit. Thus it differs greatly from the Teaching of Ptaḥ-ḥetep, which contains warnings against the " woman from outside " and the " immature maiden," and most carefully advises a husband to love and honour his wife, and to provide her with food and raiment in abundance, and also to protect and treat generously the woman whom he has loved, but did not marry. The Scribe Ani repeated many of Ptaḥ-ḥetep's warnings against strange women, and also warned his readers that the man who treated his mother lightly or neglected or wronged her in any way, might make her appeal to God for relief, and so bring punishment upon

himself. With the exception of one possible allusion to the dancing girl, Åmen-em-åpt makes no reference to any woman.

Another characteristic difference between the Teachings of the sages of the Old Kingdom and the Teaching of Åmen-em-åpt may be noted. The former exhorted a man to lead a moral life and to be good because emoluments, promotion and physical well-being were to be obtained thereby, but the latter urged him to practise precepts, the observance of which would not be followed by material benefit to himself. Clearly Åmen-em-åpt believed that virtue was its own reward. A perusal of his teaching will, I believe, convince the reader that he was a deeply religious man and a devout worshipper of God, whose temple he frequented and enriched with offerings. But by what name did he call his God? Though he flourished under the XVIIIth dynasty, he was no follower of Åmen or Åmen-Rā, for neither of these names is mentioned in his teaching. Evidently the cult of Osiris did not appeal to him, for neither the name of this god nor that of any god of his company occurs in his Precepts; and as he always, when referring to the supreme Divine Power, speaks of "God" or "the God," it is clear that for him "the gods" did not exist. But he exhorts men to pray daily for health and strength to Åten, or Åthen, when he rises, and might therefore be regarded as a "Disk worshipper" and an adherent of the cult of Åten, which under the patronage of Åmenḥetep IV

attained such unenviable notoriety about B.C. 1400. But if he were, his Teaching lacks the exclusiveness and intolerance and lax principles of the followers of the cult of material things professed by that king. On the other hand, it seems to bear upon it the impress of some non-Egyptian influence, as do the well-known hymns to Åten which are put into the mouths of Åmenḥetep IV and his officials.

Åmen-em-åpt's Teaching may represent the pure and original doctrines of the priesthood of Åten at Heliopolis under the Old Kingdom, who even at that early period must have been influenced by (or at least been in contact with) religious views and opinions which were derived ultimately from the more easterly parts of Western Asia and perhaps from beyond. Heliopolis was certainly the mythological capital of Egypt when the Pyramid Texts were written, and I believe that it was the geographical capital of Egypt long before Memphis was built or Menes became King of the South and North. It is futile to ignore any longer the proofs, which the Assyriologists are adding to almost daily, that the religious beliefs and ceremonies and legends of the Sumerians and Babylonians are similar in many fundamentals to those of the early dynastic peoples of Egypt. But the Teaching of Åmen-em-åpt may be derived from, or based upon, the doctrines that the priesthood of Herakleopolis held during the reigns of the kings of the IXth and Xth dynasties. The Teaching of Khati was a product of this period,

which was one of great literary activity, and it is probable that many of the Chapters of the Recensions of the Book of the Dead in use under the XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties were composed about that time. But, whichever view is correct, it appears to me certain that Åmen-em-åpt's high moral and religious ideals were inspired by an influence that was not of African but was of Asiatic origin.

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May 1, 1924.

MORALITY IN EGYPT AND THE MORAL PAPYRI.

MORALITY and religion appear to have existed in Egypt from the earliest times, and the oldest remains show that although neither, judged from a modern standard, was of a very high character, primitive man recognized that he owed certain duties to his village god and to his neighbour. The god and his worshippers formed one family, and every member of the community, whether it was large or small, regarded the god as his natural protector and, as time went on, as his father. In some cases the object of worship was a goddess, who was eventually regarded as the mother of the community. Nekhebit, Uatchit, Bast and Net (Neith) are characteristic examples of very ancient mother-goddesses who were never changed into gods. The worship of the god or goddess was a distinct moral force in the community, and the obligations of primitive religion in Egypt forced a man to be moral, at all events in respect of his fellow members of the god's family. Any act of murder, adultery or theft not only injured some member of the family, but hurt the god, and punishment followed in its train swiftly. The fear of the god and the approval of the god were strong incentives to a man to act morally. In the earliest times the moral obligations of the Egyptian were comparatively few. He had to help to maintain the simple house of the god and the god's servant, to take his part in all work that was essential for the well-being of the community, and

above all he must respect the lives and property of his neighbours and their wives and cattle. When necessary he had to fight the enemies of the god and of his family, to take part in all acts of public worship of the god, and to assist at all the festivals when the community as a whole ate and drank with the god. In predynastic times the Egyptian's "neighbour" might be defined as his fellow member in the god's family, and no one outside it; about his duty to him he had no doubt. But to the stranger, still more to the enemy, he might do exactly what he pleased, and the knowledge that he was acting with the approval of his god would stimulate him in his work.

There is no doubt that even in primitive times in Egypt there must have been men in every village community who possessed feelings of kindness and humanity towards man and beast, and it is probable that such men soon realized that it did not pay to retaliate, or take vengeance, or exact their due to the uttermost. Old men with experience and discretion would have found out that there were cases in which it was good policy to temper justice with mercy, and their actions and decisions would permeate the community and serve as examples and guides to the younger men. And as religion developed, morality would develop, and men would be more than ever convinced that it was profitable to discharge their moral obligations honourably. It would happen of necessity that sometimes the head man or leader of a community would earn the reputation of being a good lawgiver, or a good judge, and in such a case his decisions would help to form the foundation of the law of the land, and his influence would make itself felt on the customs of the people. And when the judgements of such a leader represented

the will of the family god, men in general would soon discover that the way of the transgressor was hard, and that it only led to loss and ruin.

When, at the end of the Neolithic Period, the Egyptians had learned to write, among the first things their scribes wrote down were the legal decisions and judgements of the "ancestors," and the religious and moral laws of the country were also done into writing. Under the IIIrd dynasty the scribe Methen, , received certain royal benefactions which were "recorded in the register of the king,"[1] and we are sure therefore that even at this early period the king kept a scribe, or scribes, who wrote at his command. And each temple must have numbered among its officials scribes whose duty it was to draft and make copies of religious texts, and presumably of the moral precepts that were composed by various authors, and were current at that time. The religious texts and the moral precepts formed two distinct classes of literature, and the object of each was different: the former were written to help the souls of the dead to secure immortality and happiness in the next world, and the latter to help a man to lead a safe and reputable life in this world. The priestly theologian spared no pains in collecting the information that would benefit the dead, and the wise and experienced public official spent anxious days in trying to make the knowledge of men and things that he had acquired available for the living, who were generally his own kinsfolk. The collector of moral precepts, as we shall see, existed in all periods of dynastic history,

[1] . Sethe, *Urkunden*, Vol. I, p. 4.

and his "Teachings" are to be found in Demotic[1] as well as in Hieratic Moral Papyri, and even the Egyptian Christian ascetics compiled their books of "Sayings of the Fathers" which contained many hundreds of admonitions, rules for life and ascetic precepts. The brother who went to Abbâ Abraham[2] and said, "Tell me, what shall I do to live?" only asked the question which the Egyptian had in all ages asked the sages, for both pagan and Christian sought for help to lead the life which would save his body and soul.

The Egyptian Moral Papyri known to us are comparatively few, and they can hardly represent all that were written by the sages; but the Books of Morals which form their contents are sufficient to enable us to judge of the scope and character of Egyptian Morality. Before we proceed to summarize their contents, it will be well to say a few words about the difficulties that beset everyone who tries to translate them. In the first place, the texts are corrupt in many passages, and the transcription of the hieratic characters in which they are written is sometimes very difficult. Two of the oldest Books (the Teaching of Kagemna and the Teaching of Ptaḥ-ḥetep) were composed in the IIIrd and Vth dynasty respectively, but we have no contemporaneous copies of them, and the oldest papyrus containing them was written probably under the XIIth dynasty. To the scribe of the XIIth dynasty, who wrote the copies which we have, the language of the IIIrd and Vth dynasties was archaic, and it is quite clear that in some passages he did not understand what he was

[1] See, for example, Revillout, *Le Papyrus Moral de Leide*, in the *Journal Asiatique*, Ser. X, tom. V, pp. 193–249, 1905; tom. VI, pp. 275–332, 1905; and tom. VIII, pp. 83–148, 1906.

[2] *Sayings of the Fathers*, ed. Budge, No. 89.

copying. Obsolete words also must have puzzled him, and the terse character of some of the utterances, to say nothing of mutilated passages and lacunae, and the similarity in form of some of the hieratic characters, often made him write nonsense, or, at any rate, something that we are wholly unable to understand. We possess portions of two copies of the Teaching of Ptaḥ-ḥetep copied under the New Empire, viz., British Museum Papyrus No. 10,509 and the Carnarvon ostrakon, and one has only to consult M. Dévaud's scholarly transcriptions of the work to see how greatly the XVIIIth or XIXth dynasty text differs from that copied under the XIIth dynasty. The difficulty of translating such texts into a modern language can be well illustrated by selecting a passage from one of the best-known Egyptian Moral Papyri, and printing below it the translations of it which have been published by some of the greatest Egyptologists. The XIIIth Precept of the Teaching of the scribe Ani reads :—

The following are translations of it by E. de Rougé : " Ne réprimande pas une femme dans sa maison, quand même cela te paraîtrait juste. Ne lui dis pas : (Où est ce qu'on a apporté pour nous ?). Si elle l'a mis à la place convenable, regarde et tais-toi (car) ta main est avec elle. Il y a beaucoup de gens qui ne savent pas ce que fait un homme qui introduit les querelles dans sa maison, sans y trouver son chef, en réalité. (Celui-là deviendra maître chez lui) qui saura s'apaiser promptement."

By H. Brugsch : " Ne frappe pas la femme dans sa maison, quand tu sais qu'elle est une personne vertueuse. Ne lui dis pas : Où est elle ? Apporte-nous *ceci et cela* ; car elle soigne d'elle-même pour le mieux. Ce que ton œil voit (en elle), tais-le ; car tu connais sa vertu. Sois joyeux de ce que ta main soit avec elle. Il y a beaucoup de gens qui ne savent pas ce qu'ils font. L'homme rapide met la dispute dans sa maison, et jamais il ne trouve son avantage. Chacun emporte le mobilier hors de la maison. Impose silence à ton cœur promptement."

By F. Chabas : " Ne sois pas rude pour la femme dans sa maison, quand tu sais qu'elle est en bon ordre. Ne lui dis pas : Où est cela ? apporte-le nous ! car elle l'a mis à sa place convenable, car ton œil l'a vu et tu as gardé le silence, reconnaissant son mérite. Plein de joie, met ta main dans la sienne. Il existe encore beaucoup de gens ne sachant pas comment fait l'homme

qui se plaît à mettre le malheur dans sa maison et qui en réalité ne trouve pas la manière de la conduire. Toute direction de la tenue d'une maison gît dans l'impassibilité de l'homme."

By A. Erman: "Kontrolliere eine Frau nicht in ihrem Hause, wenn du weisst, dass sie tüchtig ist. Sage nicht zu ihr: 'wo ist es? bringe es uns,' wenn (?) sie (es) an die richtige Stelle getan hat. Deine Auge blicke (hin) und schweige, damit (?) du ihren guten Werke kennest. (Sie ist) froh, wenn deine Hand mit ihr ist — — — — Hört der Mann damit auf, Streit in seinem Hause zu erregen — — — —." The dashes indicate the parts of the extract which Erman regards as untranslatable.

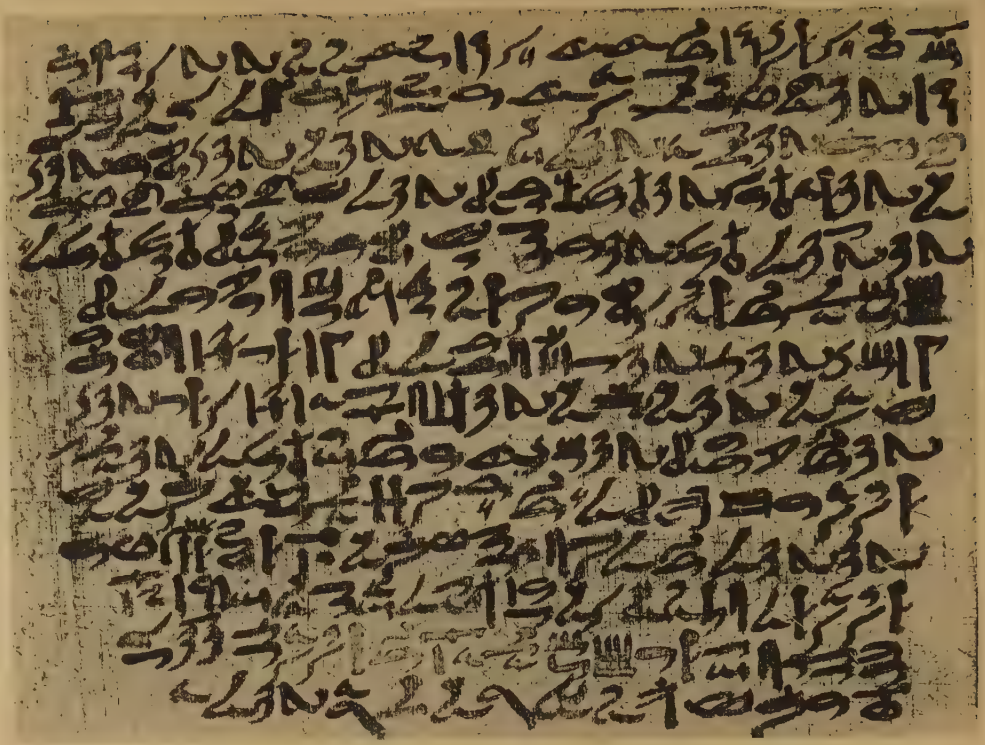
The oldest Egyptian Book of Moral Precepts that has come down to us is the Teaching of Kagemna, and the text of it in hieratic is found in the Prisse Papyrus,[1] together with the Teaching of Ptaḥ-ḥetep. The text in the Prisse Papyrus is incomplete; the first part of the Teaching of Kagemna, consisting probably of several pages, is wanting. Some authorities believe that the columns of the text of it which we have represent the complete work, and some do not. From the Colophon we learn that Kagemna flourished in the reign of Ḥuni, at the end of the IIIrd dynasty, and he must not be confounded with a later man of the same name whose tomb was found at Ṣaḳḳârah some years ago. The five paragraphs which remain of Kagemna's Precepts inculcate

[1] An excellent reproduction of this papyrus was published by G. Jéquier, *Le Papyrus Prisse et ses Variantes. Papyrus de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (*Nos.* 183–194), *Papyrus No.* 10,371 *and* 10,435 *du British Museum, Tablette Carnarvon au Musée du Caire,* Paris, 1911. (Contains 16 phototype plates, with an Introduction by the Editor.)

humility, moderation in eating, and how to behave at table, and exhort the reader to seek after a good reputation and to avoid arrogance. He must behave in such a way that he does not rouse the opposition of anyone, for no man knows the future, and no man knows what God will do when he strikes. The reference to God here is noteworthy. The Colophon is of singular interest, and states that Kagemna, having studied the characters of men, wrote his book, and summoning his children, he ordered them to pay heed to his written precepts as if he himself were reciting them. His children did homage to him, and then read what he had written, and they thought the Precepts the best things which they had ever heard and recited them sitting and standing, *i.e.*, by night and by day. Many other sages must have compiled books of moral Precepts similar to those of Kagemna, and if the family of each of them learned and recited their father's Precepts, their influence on the young must have been very considerable.

The next oldest Book of Moral Precepts is that of Ptaḥ-ḥetep, who flourished in the reign of Åssâ, a king of the Vth dynasty. His work exists in two Recensions, the older belonging to the XIIth dynasty (Prisse Papyrus), and the later to the XVIIIth dynasty or a little later (British Museum Papyrus No. 10,509 and the Carnarvon Ostrakon). Ptaḥ-ḥetep held many high offices under King Åssâ,[1] and we see from his work that he was very anxious that his son, who was also called Ptaḥ-ḥetep, should succeed him in them. He wrote his famous Teaching chiefly for the benefit of his son, hoping that he would read and

[1] Ptaḥ-ḥetep senior was buried in a mastabah tomb at Sakkârah. See Mariette, *Les Mastaba de l'Ancien Empire*, D. 62.



The Teaching of Ptah-hetep, a Wazîr of Ṭeṭkara Àssà, a king of the Vth Dynasty.

From the Prisse Papyrus (*Bibliothèque Nationale, Nos.* 183-194), *ed. Jéquier, col. XVI.*

learn the instructions which he had compiled, and act upon them and follow in every way the example of the ancestors. His teaching opens with a warning to his son against conceit, and he bids him remember that something may be learned from the ignorant as well as from the learned man. Then follow counsels concerning the loud, noisy talker, and an exhortation to follow Truth (Maāt), which is eternal and everlasting. "Terrify not subordinates or the people, for it is only what God has decreed that happens." The God here referred to cannot be the "town-god," but must be the Disposer of destinies. It seems as if Ptaḥ-ḥetep leaned towards the ideas which the Arabs connect with Kismat (what is apportioned to a man) and Maktûb (what is written or decreed). Then follow paragraphs dealing with rules for eating in public (all food is given by God), showing politeness to fellow guests, the conduct of a mission, behaviour when God gives a good harvest, a subordinate's duty to a kind master (VII–X). The XIth paragraph is very remarkable, for it counsels a man: 1. To do exactly what he pleases, and no more than is absolutely necessary. 2. To enjoy every hour that can possibly be spent in doing what he likes. 3. Not to bother about business concerning his house and estate, and not to trouble himself about the daily routine. In other words, to be always happy at all costs. If a man has an estate he must beget a son pleasing to God. If this son does well he should help him in every way; if he does evilly he should cast him out and God will punish him (XII). Then follows more advice as to behaviour towards superiors and inferiors (XIII, XIV), the discharge of duty by an envoy (XV), and how a man in a position of authority shall behave (XVI, XVII). The warning against

women is emphatic. Have nothing to do with women in other people's houses under any consideration. Their pretty limbs make fools of men, but they are found to be harder than quartzite sandstone ; the pleasure they give is only momentary, and in its enjoyment men find death (XVIII). Avoid avarice at all costs (XIX, XX), for it produces hatred and strife. If thou art wise thou wilt marry. Love thy wife and treat her handsomely (XXI), and be generous to thy servants (XXII). Repeat not the words of an angry man, nor any gossip (XXIII). Speak only when thou hast full knowledge ; words are weighty things (XXIV). In giving orders be calm and courteous, and control thy tongue. He who goes softly walks rightly[1] (XXV). Choose thy time carefully in visiting a nobleman (or magistrate) (XXVI), and let the credit of thy good service be given to thy master (XXVII). Be a peace-maker rather than a judge (XXVIII). Turn away from the man who is obnoxious to thee (XXIX). If thou hast prospered, forget not thy humble beginning, thy possessions are the gifts of God (XXX). Honour thy chief (XXXI), have nothing to do with immature women (XXXII), cultivate friendship (XXXIII), always be cheerful (XXXIV), study to preserve a good reputation (XXXV), drive not away the cheerful, good-looking woman with whom thou hast been on intimate terms (XXXVI). These precepts are followed by several paragraphs in which Ptaḥ-ḥetep exhorts his son to hearken to all that he has written. He refers to the solid truth which underlies them, and to the beauty of their literary style. They will give to him that hears them not only wisdom but

[1] Compare " Chi va piano va sano."

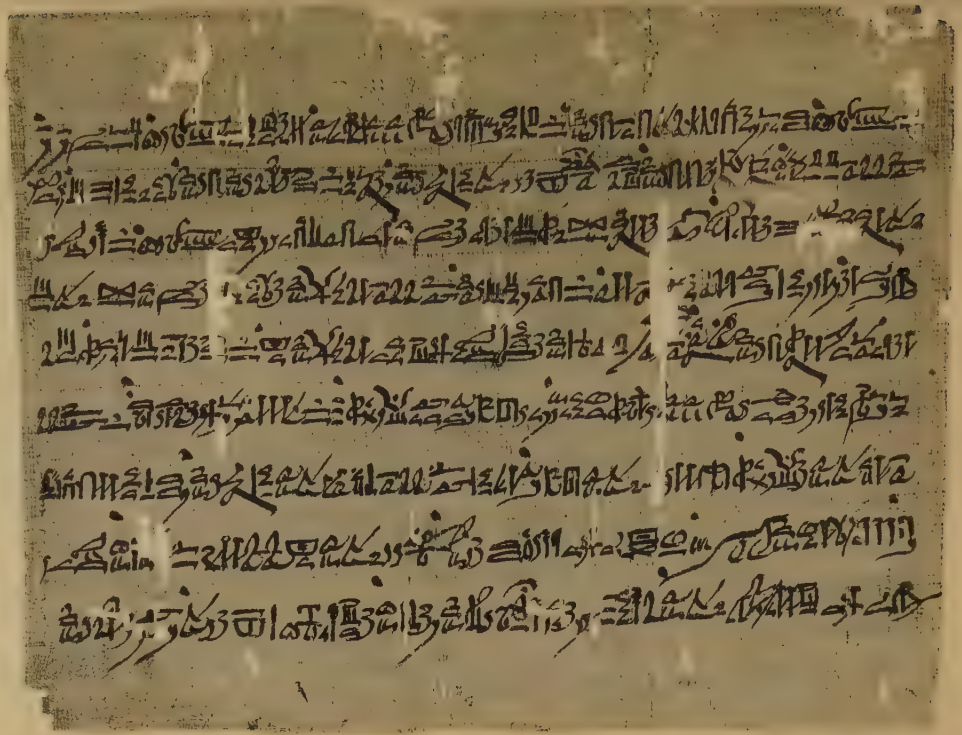
prosperity upon earth. They will develop the natural excellences of his disposition, and heart and tongue will work together, and lips, eyes and ears will perform their duties more correctly in consequence. To hearken is the best of all virtues, and the memorial of the son who has heard his father's precepts and performs them, will spread on the earth now, and be current in the mouths of generations yet unborn. The man who hearkens not to them is a fool who will do all manner of reprehensible things, and his food will be abominable stuff. Princes and peasants alike will recognize his character and shun him so that they may not be mixed up in his calamities. Of the son who hears and obeys his lord the people will say, "Behold a good son of the gift of God." Ptaḥ-ḥetep concludes by saying that he attained the great age of 110 years through the benefits and favours which the king conferred upon him because he did what was right.

When we look at the Teaching of Ptaḥ-ḥetep as a whole we see that the sage's counsels contain no religious teaching of any kind; he refers clearly to God as the Disposer of the destinies of men, and as the giver of all material benefits, but he in no way suggests that man has any duty to God. Neither prayer nor sacrifices are mentioned, and there is no reference to death, or to the life beyond the grave, or to man's moral responsibility. The sum total of Ptaḥ-ḥetep's moral teaching is: Keep on friendly terms with everyone; do not be arrogant, or conceited, or ill-tempered, or covetous, because these failings annoy people; marry a wife and avoid entanglement with women, whether strangers or kinsfolk; be courteous and deferential to your superiors and keep clear of quarrels; always be cheerful, lead the happiest life

you can as long as you can, taking care not to work harder than you need, and not to worry about your house and estate and their everyday concerns.

The Teaching of Ṭuauf.

The next oldest Book of Moral Precepts known to us is probably the Teaching of Ṭuauf, the son of Khattai, who wrote it for the benefit of his son Pepi; when and where Ṭuauf lived is unknown. The Teaching of Ṭuauf, though found in a more or less complete state only in papyri of the XIXth or XXth dynasty, was probably composed soon after the end of the Ancient Kingdom. Maspero assigned it to a writer who flourished under the XIIth dynasty, but Birch considered it to be a work of the VIth dynasty. The name of Ṭuauf's father, Khattai (formerly read Khartai), was common in the IXth, Xth and XIth dynasties, but that of Pepi his son suggests the VIth dynasty or the period immediately following as the time when this Teaching was written. The Teaching of Ṭuauf was a very popular composition under the New Empire, and it seems to have been used as a text-book in schools and colleges, partly because its contents were more interesting than the religious texts that were usually studied, and partly because from one end to the other it is an eulogy of the profession of the scribe and the man of books. But from the copies which have come down to us, and which certainly date from the XIXth or XXth dynasties, it seems clear that the copyists of it at that time did not understand what they were writing; the obvious mistakes in the text are very numerous, and many passages mean nothing, or at any rate, are untranslatable. In spite of these defects, the main object of Ṭuauf in writing his work was to instil into the mind of



The Teaching of Tuauf, the son of Khattai.

From Brit. Mus. Papyrus No. 10182 (*Sallier II*), *col. IV.*

PLATE III.

his son Pepi a love for letters and for the profession of the scribe, and also to make him study the apophthegms of the Ancestors. What Ṭuauf's social position was we know not, but by some means or other he learned to write and to express himself with tolerable clearness. He was probably not a man of high rank, and he seems to have worked at some kind of trade. In the course of this he found his ability to read and write of such importance that he determined to have his son properly educated, and to make him a scribe. He, no doubt, lacked the skill of the professional scribe in turning his sentences, and he employed in his Teaching the words that were in common use among the people of his own class. A thousand or twelve hundred years later, when the temple scribes and teachers under the Ramessid kings began to use his Teaching as a text-book, these words were regarded as archaisms and were no longer understood, and others of more modern use were substituted for them. Blunders in copying and attempts at emendation have brought the text of Ṭuauf's Teaching into the unsatisfactory state in which we find it to-day. The hieratic text is found in two papyri in the British Museum, viz., Sallier II (No. 10,182) and Anastasi VII (No. 10,222), and these have been published in *Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character*, ed. Birch, London, 1841, and in *Facsimiles of Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, ed. Budge, Second Series, London, 1923. A hieroglyphic transcript with a French translation was published by Maspero,[1] and an English rendering by Birch.[2] The composition contains twenty-eight paragraphs.

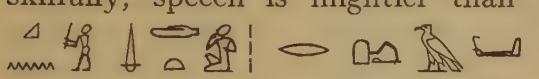
The Teaching of Ṭuauf may be divided into two parts: the first (Pars. I–XIX) contains his

[1] *Du Genre Epistolaire*, Paris, 1872.
[2] *Records of the Past*, Old Series, Vol. VIII, p. 146.

survey of the handicrafts of Egypt and his laudations of the profession of the scribe, and the second (Pars. XX–XXVIII) includes a number of moral precepts. The latter are not of great interest. They counsel Pepi not to act hastily, not to ask questions in a neighbour's house, not to use elaborate phrases, or words of pride, when talking to his neighbours, not to enter the houses of neighbours unbidden when school hours are ended, to deliver a message word for word as he received it, to practise no deception on his mother, to control his appetite for meat and drink, to pay attention to the words of great men, and to obey. The references to the goddesses Renenit and Meskhenit are obscure, but Ṭuauf evidently thinks that they concern themselves with the growth and advancement of the scribe. The words in paragraph XXVIII saying that the father and mother of the successful scribe praise Rā, show that Rā was the god whom Ṭuauf worshipped. From first to last there is no religious teaching in Ṭuauf's work, and his sole object in writing it was to make his son become a scribe. To be scribe and secretary of the Town Council seemed to him to be the highest post to which a man could attain on earth.

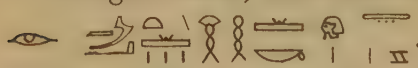
The Teaching of King Khati.

The next "Teaching" to be considered is that of King Khati, who wrote this remarkable composition for the benefit of his son Meri-ka-Rā. Unfortunately the only version of it which we have is the work of the scribes of the XIXth dynasty, but there seems to be little doubt that the composition itself is about two thousand years older. This Teaching of Khati is different in every way from that of his predecessors, and this royal author intended to teach his son something

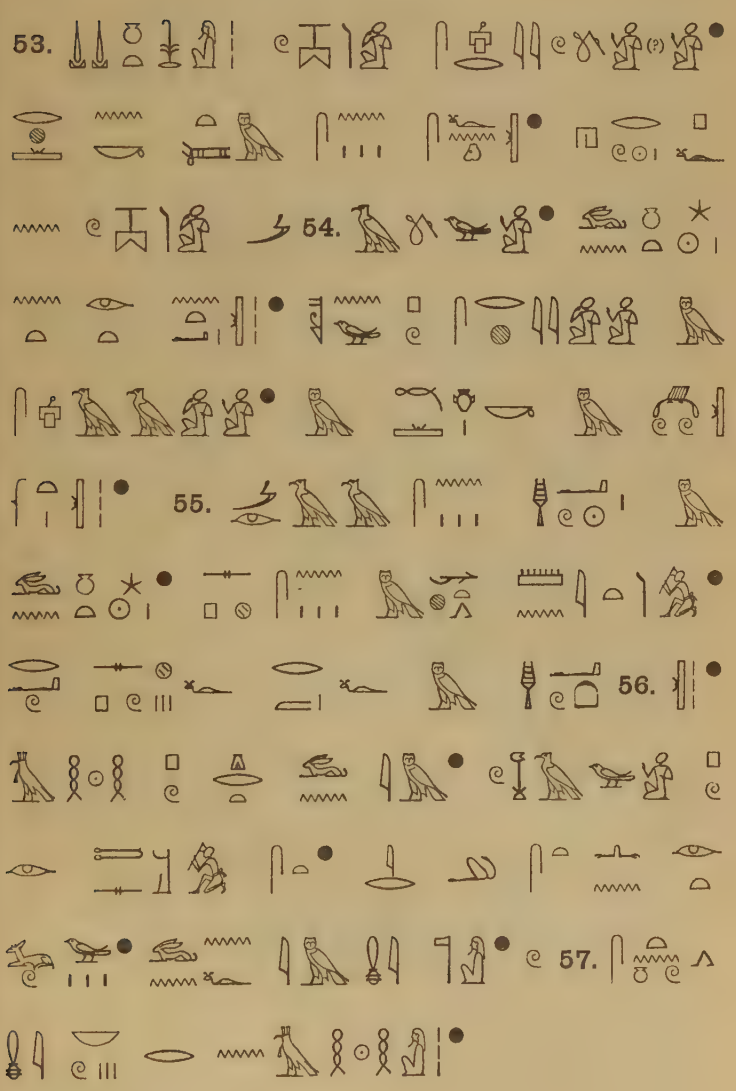
more than morality. The first six paragraphs advise Meri-ka-Rā how to deal with disloyal, noisy sedition-mongers, who go about the city talking and inciting men to overthrow the existing government. He is to use no half measures, but to seize such folk, kill them, blot out their name and memorial, and destroy their adherents. The king continues: Make thyself able to justify thyself, or prove thy integrity, before God (VII); speak wisely and skilfully, speech is mightier than any fighting  . Truth comes to the wise man and is extracted (or, brewed) from him like the precepts of the Ancestors (VIII). Follow the example of thy forefathers. Read their sayings and be guided by them; do good to thy people and the favour of God shall be thine (IX).

The next three paragraphs counsel just and considerate treatment of the nobles and the people in general: Stablish thy boundaries and provide for the future, seize not all the land. [Life] passes quickly upon earth and is of short duration. All men pass away (X). Confer authority on thy nobles and they will carry out thy commands; great is the king whose nobles are great (XI). Rule justly, satisfy the man who has a grievance, rob neither widows nor children, slay no one except the rebel and sedition-monger (XII). Teach thy young men the art of war (XIV). Treat gentle and simple alike, and select a follower for his ability only. Build monuments for thyself and for the God, for such perpetuate thy name. Visit the temple regularly, eat bread there, and

contribute liberally to the offerings and sacrifices. Give according to thy means. God knows those who work for Him, (XV, XVI). The next seven paragraphs deal with an incident in a fight which King Khati had with the princes of Thebes at This, near Abydos; the subjugation of the peoples to the north-west and north-east of Herakleopolis; the nomad tribes of the Āamu (or Syrians) and their warlike and unconquerable disposition; and the building of block-houses and castles to protect the boundaries of Egypt. Paragraphs XXV and XXVI have for their principal subject the King and his office; and in paragraph XXIX the King calls upon his son not to do anything which he has warned him against in so far as it refers to the King.

We will now refer to three paragraphs which we have not mentioned, viz., XIII, XXVII and XXVIII, but which give to the Teaching of Khati a character possessed by no other moral work except that of Ȧmen-em-âpt. These paragraphs deal with religion and not morality, and that they should occur in a work written nearly three thousand years before Christ is very remarkable. Paragraph XIII carries on the subject of the preceding paragraph, in which the King says: "Do right deeds, thou shalt remain on the earth,"  . He goes on to say, If thou wilt oppress the widow, and usurp the orphans' possessions, and dismiss the magistrates who judge rightly, and punish innocent men, and murder people, thou wilt be judged and punished after death. The passage concerning the Judgement is so important that I reproduce Golénischeff's transcript of it, and a translation of it :—

The Judgement.



Papyrus 116A, obv.

The Judgement.

" [Remember] the Tchatchaut[1] who judge wrongdoers.

Know thou that they will not be lenient (or, pitiful)

[On] that day of the judgement of wretched man,

[In] the hour of the doing of [their] appointed duty.

It is a terrible thing for a man who knows [his sin] to be charged with it.

Fill not thy heart [with hope] because of length of years,

[For] they regard a whole lifetime as a single hour.

They prove [a man] after [his] arrival in port (*i.e.*, death).

His qualities are placed near him as means of subsistence (?).

There (*i.e.*, in the Other World) existence is everlasting.

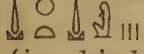
A fool is he who has put [the remembrance of] it away from him.

The man who attains to that place without wrongdoing

Has an existence there like that of God,

Going about unhampered like the Everlasting Lords."

[1] *I.e.*, the Company of Assessors in the Other World, presumably the Forty-two great gods of the Hall of Maāti, which was presided over by Osiris.

The Tchatchaut, or "Heads," are well known from the funerary works of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties. They appear in the Fifth Division of the Book of Gates and are there eight in number. They kept the registers of Osiris, which presumably contained the names of those who were in the Other World, and the period of time which each had to serve there, and the amount of work which each had to perform.[1] In the Book of the Dead they are mentioned (Chapter XXXB) in connection with the Great Scales, and the deceased says: "Let no one stand up to testify against me, let none of the Tchatchaut,  , thrust me back, and do not thou (*i.e.*, his heart) turn aside from me in the presence of the Guardian of the Scales." Chapter XXXB was, according to one tradition, composed by Thoth, and it was "found" by Ḥertataf, a son of Khufu (Cheops), inscribed on a tablet under the feet of a statue of this god; and according to another it was known in the reign of Semti-Ḥesepti, a king of the Ist dynasty. Assuming these traditions to be based on facts, the belief in the Judgement after death is as old in Egypt as dynastic civilization. From the IVth dynasty to the Ptolemaïc Period the deceased was believed to recite the prayer contained in this Chapter when he entered the Hall of Judgement, and it must therefore have been in general use between three and four thousand years.

The equally remarkable paragraphs XXVII and XXVIII treat of God and His worship, and His power as the great Creator :—

[1] See Budge, *Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, Vol. II, p. 156.

GOD THE CREATOR. HIS WORSHIP AND POWER.

"124. God has hidden Himself; [He] knows the dispositions [of men].

None can resist the lord of the hand,[1]

Who attacks 125. the things which are seen by the eyes (or, whilst the eyes look on).

God is to be adored [when] He is on His way.

Stones are worked upon, copper (or, bronze) is wrought [into images of Him].

The parched land (?) is 126. rewarded with a stream.

A river will not permit itself to disappear, it destroys (or, dissolves away) that ground in which it hid itself.

127. The soul journeys to the place which it knows.

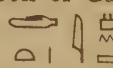
Found [and] make perfect (or, magnificent) thy house of Åment (*i.e.*, the west bank of the Nile),

Beautify thy house 128. of Khert-Neter (*i.e.*, the cemetery)

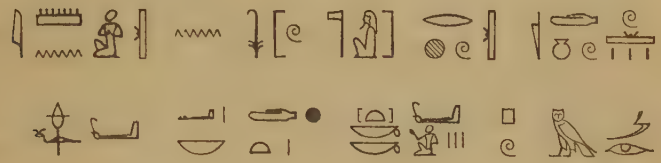
As is right to do, like one who observes the law,

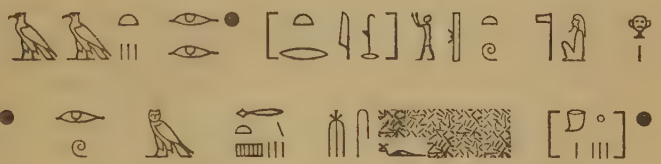
For the minds (or, hearts) of men rely upon it.

129. The disposition of him that is right of heart

[1] A phrase difficult to explain. Can it refer to the great Hand of Geb which is grasping the chain by means of which the Four Sons of Horus fetter Åpep and his sons, as shown in the Tenth Division of the Book of Gates? This Hand is called the "Hidden Hand,"  . See Budge, *Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, Vol. II, pp. 270–272.

GOD THE CREATOR. HIS WORSHIP AND POWER.

124. 

125. 

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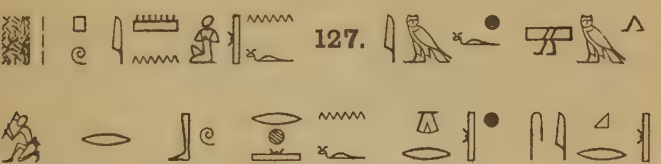
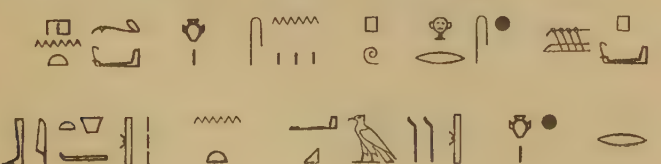
127. 

128.

129. 

Is more acceptable than the ox of the worker of iniquity.

Work for God, He will work for thee in like manner.

Make offerings 130. to keep the tables for offerings well-supplied,

[And] with the cutting [of funerary texts add] the similitude of thy name.

God knows well [the man] who works for him."

King Khati continues his advice thus (Para. XXVIII) :—

" Regulate (or, keep order among) 131. men and women, who [are] the flocks and herds of God. (Compare Psalm 74, 1 ; 79, 13 ; 95, 7 ; 100, 3.)

He made heaven [and] earth for their will (*i.e.*, pleasure),

He dissipated the darkness[1] (?) of the waters,

He made the breezes of life (or, the life-giving air) 132. for their nostrils.

They are the images (or, likenesses) of Him, (Compare Gen. i, 26, 27 ; ix, 6.)

Who came forth from His members.

He mounts up into the sky for their hearts (*i.e.*, gratification).

He has made 133. for them fruits and vegetables, flocks and herds, feathered fowl [and] fish for their subsistence.

[1] The allusion here is to the monster Ãapep, whose symbol was a crocodile. He was the personification of fog, mist, rain and the primeval darkness which was everywhere until the sun rose for the first time.

130.
131.
(sic)
132.
133.

He has slain his enemies, he destroyed his own children[1] 134. because they conspired and made rebellion.

He made the daylight for their hearts (*i.e.*, gratification).

He made himself to travel in a boat so that he could see them.

He has raised up a 135. shrine (?) behind them.

[When] they weep he hearkens [to their cry].

He made for them a governor in the egg,[2]

A captain to 136. strengthen the back of the feeble man.

He made for them words of power [for] weapons

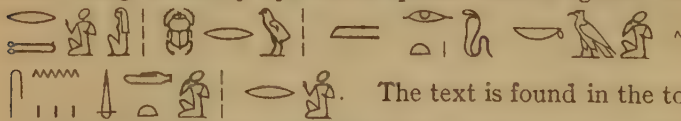
To repulse the might 137. of [untoward] happenings

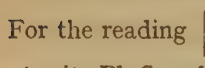
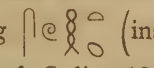
[And terrifying] visions by night as well as by day.

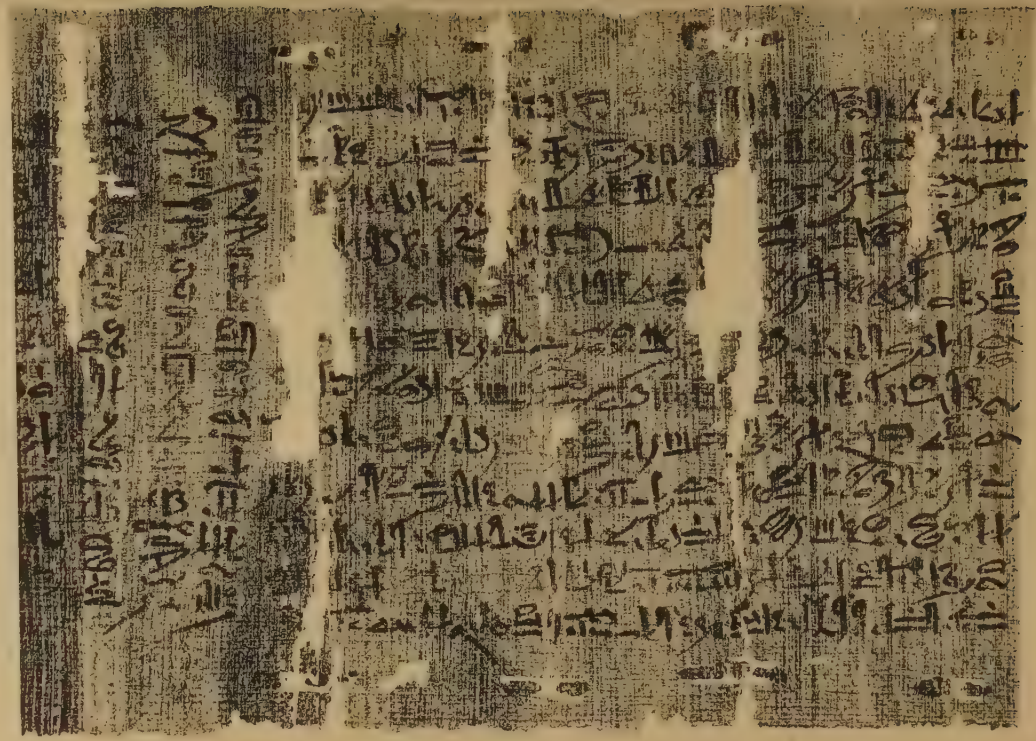
He has slain those who were rebels in heart

138. As a man chastises his son for his brother.

God knows every name."

[1] The allusion here is to the old Egyptian tradition which states that Rā destroyed the men whom he had made because they reviled him. This god said: "The men who came into being from my eye have spoken words against me,"  . The text is found in the tomb of Seti I and has been published with a French translation by Naville, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, Vol. IV, p. 1 ff.

[2] *I.e.*, governors who were kings before they were born. For the reading  (instead of ) see Golénischeff, *op. cit.*, Pl. Suppl. C, line 135.

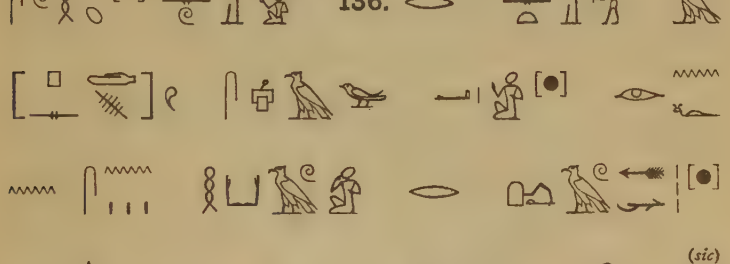


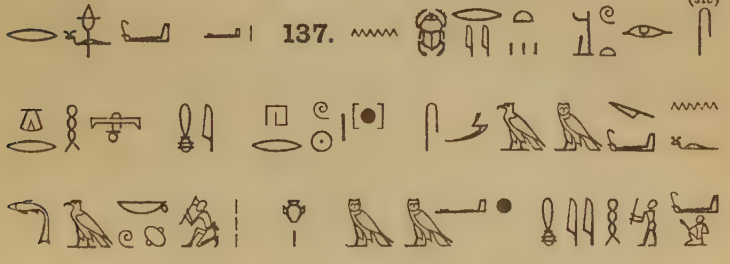
The Teaching which Khati, a king of Herakleopolis, wrote for his son Merikarā.

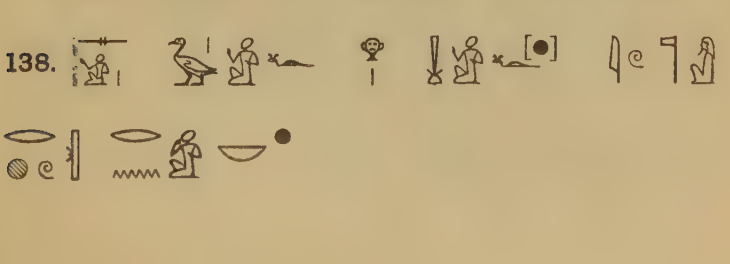
From the Papyrus of the Hermitage at St. Petersburg, ed. Golénischeff, No. 1116*a*, *obv. ll.* 106-117.

134.

135.

136. 

137. 

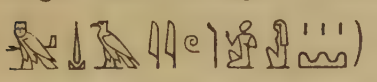
138. 

The above passages contain the simplest and grandest description of the power and majesty of the God of Creation which has been found in Egyptian papyri. It is clear from some of the lines in them that the god whose power Khati describes is Rā, the oldest sun-god of Heliopolis, who was undoubtedly regarded as the creator of the material universe. King Khati's monotheism is of a very high order, but Rā was, apparently, not almighty, for he had enemies, who subsisted against his will, and whom he had to slay. And his power over the men whom he had created in his image was not great enough to prevent them from conspiring against him. Moreover, to help men to overcome "happenings," *i.e.*, accidents and calamities, and diurnal and nocturnal visions, he was obliged to invent for them Ḥekau, , "words of power," *i.e.*, magical spells, incantations, exorcisms, and the like. As these were to be recited whilst certain ceremonies, of a symbolic and magical character, were being performed, and as both the spells and ceremonies were designed to destroy the power and works of evil beings, they must be regarded as the foundation of the "White Magic," which Rā invented to defeat 'Black Magic."

The Teaching of Amenemḥat I.

In the Teaching[1] of Seḥetepàbrā Àmenemḥat (I),

[1] The hieratic text, from Sallier Papyrus II (Brit. Mus., No. 10,182), is reproduced in Egyptian *Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Second Series, Plates LXIII–LXXVI. There are English translations by Goodwin, *Cambridge Essays*, p. 227 ff; Maspero, *Records of the Past*, Vol. II, pp. 9–16; Birch, *Egyptian Texts*, p. 16 ff; and Griffith, *Zeitschrift für Aeg. Sprache*, Bd. XXXIV (1896), p. 35. The last is accompanied by a hieroglyphic transcript.

the first king of the XIIth dynasty, we have a set of precepts wholly different in character from those of Kagemna, Ptaḥ-ḥetep and Khati. Amenemḥat I wrote his Teaching to help his son Usertsen (Senusert) I to rule and not to become moral; therefore I have not included any extracts from it among my translations. The first paragraph advises his son to trust no brother, to make no intimate friends, to keep everybody at a safe distance, and to keep his weapons near him when he sleeps. Amenemḥat says that he fed the beggar and the destitute, and received gentle and simple alike; but those who had prospered under him turned against him. A plot was formed against him, and one night after supper, when he was lying down, he heard the clash of weapons and, springing up, he found that men had tried to burst into the chamber to kill him. His sentry had, it seems, been killed by them, and he found himself without a protector, but he escaped by some means, and the plot collapsed. The rest of the work tells how he sent expeditions to Elephantine and the Delta, and encouraged irrigation and agriculture, hunted lions, caught crocodiles, and reduced the Nubians and the Nomads, who followed him like dogs, and brought Sûdânî men (the M'tchaiu, ) to Egypt as soldiers.

As a result of all these works no man suffered from hunger or thirst in his days, and the people dwelt in peace and quietness, and had leisure to discuss their king's mighty deeds. The last two paragraphs of Amenemḥat's work are full of difficulties; they contain no moral precepts.

The Teaching of Ântef.

That the Teachings of Kagemna and Ptaḥ-ḥetep were known and read under the XIIth dynasty is certain, for the oldest copies of these works are contained in the Prisse Papyrus, which was written at this period. By good fortune a monument has come down to us containing an inscription in which the man commemorated, one Ântef, the son of Sent, describes his own character, and tells us about the way in which he fulfilled his duties as a high official of Usertsen I, the second king of the XIIth dynasty. He makes twenty statements about himself, and in each of them he shows that he put into practice a precept which is contained in the Teachings of the sages which are known to us. The whole inscription proves that the precepts of the Teachings are not merely aphorisms academic in character, but rules for conduct which officials were expected to learn and carry out. M. Moret, who has recently republished the text and added a French translation, has aptly called it "La Profession de Foi d'un Magistrat sous la XII^{e} Dynastie" (*Cinquantenaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*, Paris, 1821).

The Teaching of Seḥetepâbrā.

Next, according to the chronological order of the Teachings, comes the Teaching of Seḥetepâbrā, , an hereditary prince and seal-bearer of Âmenemḥat III, a mighty king of the XIIth dynasty. This official was high in the favour of his king, and performed many exalted duties in connection with the worship of the gods at Abydos. He wrote his Teaching for the benefit of his children, and claims that he will "make them to know the dispensation of eternity, and make to

The "Negative Confession," *i.e.*, the categorical denial by the deceased before the Two-and-Forty Assessors in the Hall of Osiris that he had committed any one of the offences that he enumerated.

From Brit. Mus. Papyrus No. 10477, *sheet* 23 (*Book of the Dead, Chap. CXXV*).

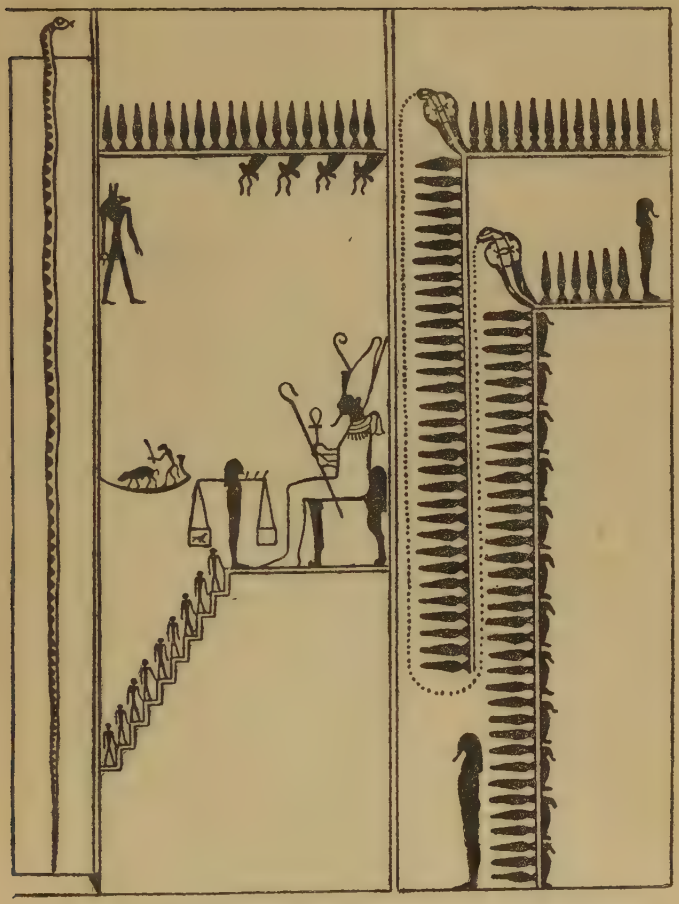
PLATE V.

grow and flourish the life of truth (*i.e.*, the real or genuine life), and to pass the whole period of their life in peace," . The composition deals neither with religion nor morality, and contains nothing but a deification and glorification of the king and his power. Seḥetepâbrā was a loyal, whole-hearted follower of Âmenemḥat III, and as a result prospered greatly; he urges his children to follow his example, for only by so doing can they attain to the sole kind of life that is real, and pass their days happily. Since Âmenemḥat III was to him as God, service to him, in his opinion, embraced both religion and morality.

The Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, and the Religious and Moral Code of Osiris.

With the Teaching of Seḥetepâbrā our series of moral works of the Ancient and Middle Empire comes to an end. The period between the end of the XIIth dynasty and the beginning of the XVIIIth is barren, but when the Hyksos had been expelled, and the rule of the great Theban kings began, a period of great activity in connection with the writing and copying of religious and moral works was inaugurated. It must have been early in the XVIIIth dynasty that the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead was made. A great many of the texts included in that were in existence in the XIth and XIIth dynasties, as we know from the rectangular painted wooden coffins from Al-Barshah, in Upper Egypt. But after the XIIth dynasty these and many other texts were grouped

together and arranged in a kind of order, and the Book of PER-EM-HRU, (or PERT-EM-HRU), came into being at the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty. At this time Åmen, or Åmen-Rā, was the King of the gods at Thebes, but Osiris was King of the Other World, and Judge of the Dead, and the chief Ancestor-god of all Egypt. The object of the compilers of the Book of the Dead was to help the deceased, who is throughout identified with Osiris, to reach the Kingdom of Osiris. It included spells and magical texts of all periods, which were intended to preserve his body from evil hap and destruction in every form, and hymns to the gods, and a number of compositions, the knowledge of which would enable him to enjoy to the full the delights of the Kingdom of Osiris, and to make ample use of the supernatural powers which he would possess there. But Osiris demanded much of the deceased before he admitted him into the abode of the blessed. The deceased had to prove to the Divine Magistrates, or Assessors, that he had led a good life upon earth, and to submit to his actions being weighed in the Great Scales against Maāt, *i.e.*, the Truth (or, the Law). This weighing was performed with scrupulous care by Thoth and his deputy, in the presence of Osiris and the Great Company of the gods, and unless a man's good deeds exactly counterbalanced Maāt, he was doomed to annihilation. The Assessors were impartial, incorruptible and merciless ; the Law had to be satisfied. A man was responsible to his god, whether it were Rā or Osiris, for his deeds and words ; on this fundamental fact the Egyptian conception of the Judgement of Souls was based. In addition to satisfying Thoth, the Advocate and



The Judgement Hall of Osiris, and the Gate of the Sixth Division of the Ṭuat called Nebṭāḥā. Osiris is seated on a throne with nine steps, on each of which stands a god of his Company, and the Great Scales stand before him. The standard is a god in mummy form, but what is in the pans of the scales is doubtful. The Ape of Thoth is driving away evil in the form of the black pig, Āmā. Anubis is addressing Osiris.

From the sarcophagus of Seti I in Sir John Soane's Museum.

Secretary of Osiris, a man had to satisfy the Forty-two Assessors that he had not committed the forty-two sins the committal of any one of which would exclude him from the Kingdom of Osiris. He did this by declaring to each of the Assessors that he had not committed a certain sin, and if the result of the weighing of his deeds in the Great Scales confirmed this, he was declared *maā kheru*, , "true of speech," *i.e.*, innocent.

At the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty, under some influence which is unknown to us, the scribes began to add Vignettes, *i.e.*, to illustrate the Book of the Dead, and they gave free play to their imaginations in their representations of the Judgement Scene. A small vignette of the weighing of the deceased illustrated Chapter XXXB, and this they made the central feature of their larger vignette, which primarily they designed to illustrate Chapter CXXV. They considered this latter chapter of such great importance that they made it the introductory section of the Book of the Dead in all the great Codices of that work. Probably the finest coloured example known is that found in the Papyrus of Ani (Brit. Mus., No. 10,470), where it is given with two introductory hymns, one to Rā and the other to Osiris. In later Codices of the Book of the Dead the treatment of the Judgement Scene varies in details, but its main features remained unchanged for more than one thousand years.

The collection of declarations of innocence of the forty-two sins which the deceased made to the Forty-two Assessors forms what may be called "The Moral and Religious Code of Osiris," and the scribes of the XVIIIth dynasty regarded it as one

Thoth, Lord of the Scales of the Two Lands, weighing the Scribe Nebseni in the Great Scales, against a heart (Nebseni's ?) in the presence of Osiris.

From Brit. Mus. Papyrus No. 9900, *sheet* 4 (*Book of the Dead, Chap. XXXb*).

of the most important sections of the Book of the Dead. In modern works it is known as the "Negative Confession," a name given to it by the early Egyptologists because each declaration begins with "I have not." It was addressed to Osiris in the first instance by the deceased, who said: "I know thee and I know thy name and the names of the Forty-two Gods who dwell with thee in the hall of Maāti," etc. He then went on: "I have brought thee Truth, I have destroyed sin, I have not sinned against mankind, I have not slain my kinsfolk," and so on to the end of the Confession which is part of Chap. CXXV (Introduction). But the scribes were not content to leave it in this form, and they added the Vignette in the Papyrus of Nu, which is reproduced on Plate V. Here we see a long pylon-shaped hall, called the "Hall of Maāti," the doors of which are thrown open, and down the middle of it, arranged in a single row, are forty-two mummified human forms, each having upon his head a feather, symbolic of Maāt (Truth). Above and below these are the texts of the declarations of innocence. In the Papyrus of Nebseni (Brit. Mus. 9900) the cornice of the Hall is decorated with rows of feathers of Maāt, , and uraei with horns and disks, , figures of four apes, each sitting by the side of a pair of scales, , and a seated god with his hands stretched out over the two eyes of Rā. At the end of the Hall are figures of the Maāti goddesses, Isis and Nephthys

[1] These are the four holy apes who in the Vignette to Chap. CXXVI are seen sitting one at each corner of the Lake of Liquid Fire, into which the bodies of the damned were thrown. In the Papyrus of Nesitanebtashru the Lake with its apes is seen quite close to the Great Scales.

and in the Papyrus of Ani, small vignettes representing Ani before Osiris, the Great Scales, and Thoth writing on a feather, are added. The texts read :—

1. Hail, Usekht-nemmt, appearing from Ânu (Heliopolis), I have not committed sins.
2. Hail, Ḥept-seshet, appearing from Kherāḥa,[1] I have not robbed with violence.
3. Hail, Fenṭi (Thoth), appearing from Khemenu (Hermopolis), I have not plundered.
4. Hail, Âm-Khaibitu, appearing from Qerrt, I have not stolen.
5. Hail, Neḥa-ḥāu, appearing from Restau, I have not slain men.
6. Hail, Ruruti, appearing from heaven, I have not cheated over the bushel.
7. Hail, Ârti-f-em-ṭes, appearing from Sekhem (Letopolis), I have not acted with deceit.
8. Hail, Nebâ-per-em-khetkhet, I have not stolen the property of God.
9. Hail, Seṭ-qesu, appearing from Ḥennsu (Herakleopolis), I have not uttered lies.
10. Hail, Uatch-nesert, appearing from Ḥekaptaḥ (Memphis), I have not carried off food.
11. Hail, Qerti, appearing from Âment (the West), I have not uttered words of blasphemy (or, sedition).
12. Hail, Ḥetch-âbeḥu, appearing from Ta-she (the Fayyûm), I have not invaded any man's land.
13. Hail, Unem-snef, appearing from the Slaughter-house, I have not slain an ox set apart for the god.
14. Hail, Unem-besku, appearing from [the Mâbet-chamber], I have not cheated in respect of . . . . . .

[1] A town which stood near the modern Fusṭât.

15. Hail, Neb-Maāt, appearing from Maāti, I have not pillaged the grain-lands.
16. Hail, Thenemi, appearing from Bast (Bubastis), I have not played the spy (or, eavesdropper ?).
17. Hail, Āaṭi (or Āṇṭi), appearing from Ȧnu (Heliopolis), I have not set my mouth in motion (*i.e.*, reviled any man).
18. Hail, Ṭuṭu-f, appearing from Ȧti, or Āthi (Busiris ?), I have not . . . . . except over the things which were mine.
19. Hail, Uamemti, appearing from the Slaughter-house, I have not had intercourse with the wife of a young (?) man.
20. Hail, Maa-ȧntuf, appearing from Per-Menu, I have not polluted myself.
21. Hail, Ḥeri-seru, appearing from [Nehat]u (Sycamore City), I have not terrified [men] by my acts.
22. Hail, Ḳhemi, appearing from the Lake of Kaui, I have not attacked [any man].
23. Hail, Sheṭi-kheru, appearing from Urit, I have not been an incendiary (?).
24. Hail, Nekhen, appearing from Ḥeq-āṭ (?), I have not made myself deaf to the words of truth (or, the Law).
25. Hail, Seri-kheru, appearing from Unes, I have not stirred up strife (or, sedition).
26. Hail, Basti, appearing from Shetait, I have made no man to weep.
27. Hail, Ḥerf-ḥaf,[1] appearing from Ḥept-tchat,[2] I have not committed acts of sexual impurity.
28. Hail, Ta-reṭ, appearing from Ȧkhekhu (Darkness), I have not eaten my heart.

[1] He was the ferryman who ferried souls over the river to the Island of Osiris.

[2] The " Cabin of the Ferryboat " (?).

29. Hail, Kenemti, appearing from Kenemt, I have not cursed.
30. Hail, Ân-ḥetep-f, appearing from Sau (Sais), I have not acted with violence.
31. Hail, Neb-ḥeru, appearing from Tchefet, I have not hurried my mind (judged hastily?).
32. Hail, Serekhi, appearing from Unth, I have not . . . . . my skin, I have not taken vengeance (?) on the god.
33. Hail, Neb-ābui, appearing from Satiu, I have not talked overmuch.
34. Hail, Nefer-tem, appearing from Ḥekaptaḥ (Memphis), I have not acted deceitfully, I have not done evil.
35. Hail, Tem-sep, appearing from Ṭeṭu (Mendes), I have not acted as an enemy [of the king].
36. Hail, Âri-em-âb-f, appearing from Tebti, I have not befouled running water.
37. Hail, Ḥi-mu, appearing from Nenu (Nu), I have not made high (arrogant ?) my voice.
38. Hail, Utchu-rekhit, appearing from his abode, I have not cursed God.
39. Hail, Neḥeb-nefert, appearing from Nefer(?), I have not behaved with insolence.
40. Hail, Neḥeb-kau, appearing from [thy] city, I have not sought distinctions (honours ?) for myself.
41. Hail, Tcheser-tep, appearing from [his] cavern, I have not added to my wealth except such things as are my own.
42. Hail, Ân-ā-f, appearing from Âugert, I have not thought scorn of the god of my city.

The names of the Forty-two Assessors are titles of gods of the forty-two nomes of Egypt. Some of them explain themselves, *e.g.*, No. 1. Usekht-

nemmt, *i.e.*, "He of the long strides" from Heliopolis is Rā, and No. 3. Fenṭi, *i.e.*, "Nose" from Hermopolis is Thoth, the allusion being to the beak of the ibis, the bird that was sacred to him. In many cases it is not possible to identify the god referred to, and it is probable that most of the names are titles of local gods who were associated with the cult of Osiris in his numerous shrines throughout Egypt. The negative form of the declarations ("I have not done") suggests that they are an answer to precepts either from some Teaching of Osiris that began with the words "Do not," or "Thou shalt not," or from the Teaching of some Sage like Ptaḥ-ḥetep.

It is possible that originally the Negative Confession was composed for the king, and that he alone was supposed to recite it before Osiris, for it is inconceivable that every Egyptian who was a follower of Osiris could or did make use of it. And the question arises whether the idea of it was of native origin, and whether the Book of the Dead is the place for which it was originally intended. The ordinary text of Chap. CXXV contains the substance of it, and there must be some reason why the Negative Confession in tabular form was given in addition. It seems to have nothing to do with the weighing of the words and deeds of a man in the Great Scales, and some special benefit must have accrued to the deceased from its recital.[1] The Babylonians placed a

[1] The priests of Ȧmen attached great importance to the Negative Confession in tabular form, a fact proved by the Papyrus of Nesitanebtashru. There Chap. CXXV is given in hieratic (ed. Budge, Plates XLIII and XLIV), and on Plates CX–CXII we have the Negative Confession in hieroglyphs.

Negative Confession in the mouth of their king when he went annually to the temple of Marduk to obtain the renewal of his sovereignty over Babylonia. The king was brought before Bêl, and the Urigallu (a kind of priest) went out from the sanctuary, and, taking the king's crown from his head and the three emblems of rule which he had in his hands, the Urigallu took them into the sanctuary and set them on a stand before Bêl. He then went out and smote the king on his face, and brought him in before Bêl, and, taking hold of the king's ears, he drew him down to the ground and made him kneel before the god. And the king said, "I have not committed sin, O lord of the lands. I have not been careless about the service of thy godship. I have not destroyed Babel, I have not commanded its destruction. I have not destroyed E. Sagila, I have not forgotten its rites. I have not smitten the cheeks of legal vassals, I have not caused them to be abased. I made Babel my first care, I have not stricken down its walls." When the Urigallu, speaking for the god, had assured the king that Bêl would hear his prayers and destroy his enemies, he restored the crown and symbols of sovereignty to the king, who then arrayed himself as before. The Urigallu again smote the king on his cheek, and if tears came from the king's eyes they showed that Bêl was propitious to the king. If no tears came it showed that Bêl was wroth with him, and that the king's enemies would arise and bring about his downfall.[1] The Negative Confession of the Egyptian before Osiris, and the Negative Confession of the King of Babylon before Marduk

[1] See Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens*, Paris, 1921, pp. 144–145.

are extraordinarily close parallels. Marduk, as the god who visited the Underworld and had to be restored to life, seems to be the Babylonian counterpart of Osiris, god of the Underworld and god of the Resurrection.

The translation of the Moral and Religious Code of Osiris is made from the oldest known copy of it, which is found in the Papyrus of Nebseni, but the later Theban Codices show that considerable alterations were made by the scribes in the catalogue of sins there given. Thus, in the Papyrus of Nu the deceased says in the Introduction to the Negative Confession: I have not sinned against men, oppressed my kinsfolk, done evil in the place of truth, known reprobates, done abominable deeds, done more than was necessary, put forward my name for honours, dominated over slaves, scorned God, robbed the poor, done deeds hateful to the gods, caused a man to harm his slave, made any man suffer, let any man go hungry, made any man weep, committed murder, caused any murder to be committed, hurt the people, robbed the temple-offerings, stolen sacred cakes, stolen sepulchral offerings, committed sodomy, defiled sacred places, cheated in selling grain, filched land, encroached on the lands of others, cheated with the weights, cheated by misreading the pointer of the scales, taken milk from babes, driven beasts off their pastures, snared sacred geese, caught fish with bait of their bodies, fouled (or obstructed) water, breached a canal, extinguished a flame that should burn, abolished festal days, driven cattle from sacred property, or thrust aside the god when he appeared in his processions. This having been said, the deceased cries out, "I am pure, I am pure, I am pure, I am pure."

The dog-headed Ape of Thoth and the goddess Maāt watching the weighing of the heart of the deceased Iuàu in the presence of Osiris.
From the Papyrus of Iuàu (ed. Naville, London, 1908, Plate XXII).

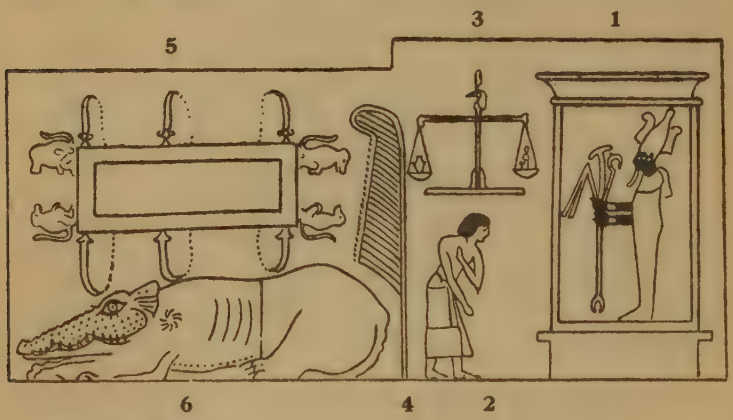
The Vignettes in the papyri copied in the first half of the period of the XVIIIth dynasty show that the weighing of the words and deeds of the deceased was a comparatively simple matter. Thoth, in the form of a dog-headed ape, conducted the weighing and announced the result to Osiris, who sat close by on his throne. (See Plate VI.) In the Papyrus of Iuau, (ed. Naville, Pl. XXII), Osiris stands by the Scales

1. Rā, in the form of a mummy, watching the weighing of the heart of Amenemḥeb; Rā here takes the place of Osiris.
2. The dog-headed Ape of Thoth.
3. The Great Scales, the pillar of which is surmounted by the head of Maāt (Truth). The heart of the deceased counterbalances Truth.
4. An Ape-headed god leading the deceased to the Great Scales.

From the Papyrus of Amenemheb in the Louvre, No. 3097. (Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Vol. I, Chap. CXXV.)

and watches the heart of the deceased balancing itself against the symbol of truth, and Thoth, in the form of a dog-headed ape with the crescent and full moon on his head, and his counterpart Maāt stand by watching. In the Louvre Papyrus No. 3073 the Maāti goddesses watch the weighing, and the top of the pillar of the Scales is in the form of the head of Maāt. In the Louvre Papyrus No. 3074, the

weighing is performed by Rā or Horus, the ape sits on the top of the pillar of the Scales, and the heart is presented by Anubis to the two apes who sit before Osiris. In the Papyrus of Neb-Qeṭ (Louvre, No. 3132) the top of the standard is made in the form of the head of the ibis of Thoth, and to the left of it are the Eater of the Dead and the Lake of Fire with the Four Apes. In many papyri Anubis performs the



1. Osiris in his shrine.
2. The deceased Nebqeṭ adoring the god.
3. The heart of the deceased in the Great Scales being weighed against Truth.
4. The feather of Truth (Maāt).
5. The Lake of Fire and the Four Holy Apes.
6. The monster Ām-mit, "Eater of the Dead," waiting to destroy sinners.

From the Papyrus of Nebqeṭ (ed. Devéria and Pierret, Paris, 1872).

weighing and the ape of Thoth sits on the top of the standard. In papyri of the latter half of the XVIIIth dynasty, *e.g.*, the Papyrus of Ani, the Judgement Scene is greatly elaborated, and the weighing is watched not only by the deceased, but by his soul and his Luck, and his embryo (?) and the goddess of his birth-chamber Meskhenit, and the goddess of his destiny Renenit. The ape sits on the Scales, and the god Thoth, the "Lord

Anubis weighing the heart of the priestess Ȧnhai against a figure of Maāt, goddess of Truth. The Ape of Thoth watches the weighing on behalf of Thoth, who is recording the result on his palette.

From Brit. Mus. Papyrus No. 10472 (*Book of the Dead, Chap. CXXV*).

of the words of the god,"[1] ibis-headed, stands writing down on his palette the result of the weighing which Anubis reports.

The verdict which Thoth returns to the gods is both interesting and instructive, and shows what was demanded of a man before he could enter the

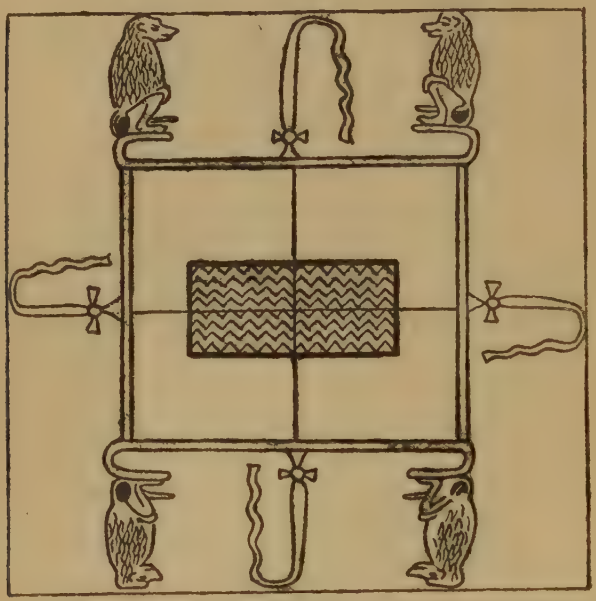
1. 2. The Truth goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt.
3. The Great Scales in which Horus or Rā is weighing the heart of Thena; the Ape of Thoth sits on the standard.
4. Anubis presenting the heart of Thena to Osiris who sits enthroned as Judge with two of the Holy Apes before him.

From the Papyrus of Thena in the Louvre (Naville, *Todtenbuch*, Vol. I, Chap. CXXV).

Kingdom of Osiris. He says: "In real truth (*i.e.*, with the strictest regard to the demands of the Law) the heart of the Osiris (Ani) has been weighed. His soul stood up bearing witness on his behalf. His character (or, disposition) is right

[1] "*Neb meṭu neter*, ." Eisler's theory that refers to the standards of the god, or gods, is disposed of by Boylan in his *Thoth as Hermes*, p. 92.

according to the Great Scales. No vice (or, abomination) has been found in him. He has not filched from the offerings in the temples. He did not commit deceitful deeds, he did not spread about with his mouth lies whilst he lived upon the earth." Thus the Code of Osiris regarded as the essential qualities in a candidate for the Elysian Fields



The Four Holy Apes who guard the Lake of Fire into which the remains of those who were condemned in the Judgement Hall of Osiris were cast.
Vignette of Chap. CXXVI in the Papyrus of Nebseni.
(Brit. Mus. Papyrus, No. 9900.)

a right spirit, honesty in his work, and absolute truth in word and deed. And this was Thoth's summary of the Law.

In the Papyrus of Neb-Qet the monster " Eater of the Dead " is seen lying by the side of the Lake of Fire with its Four Apes, but in the later papyri the Lake is removed from the Hall of Judgement,

and the Vignette of it, with its text, forms Chap. CXXVI. These Apes were originally supposed to sit in the Boat of Rā, and each told the god the truth about what was happening in one quarter of the world, but here they are seated each at one corner or side of a rectangular lake of fire. They lived by the truth, and they fed on the truth, and were free from deceit and fraud and vice of every kind. To these the deceased prayed, saying: "Blot out my evil deeds, and put away my culpable deeds committed upon earth, and destroy anything of evil that clings to me, and let there be nothing in me to alienate you from me. Let me pass through the Ȧmmeḥet, and enter Restau, and pass through the secret gates of Ȧmentt." And when the deceased was a righteous man they answered: "Come, for we have blotted out thy evil deeds, and put away thy sin and thy culpable deeds committed upon earth, and we have destroyed every evil thing that clung to thee upon earth. Enter therefore into Restau, and pass through the secret pylons of Ȧmentt."

TRANSLATIONS OF EXTRACTS FROM EGYPTIAN MORAL PAPYRI.

THE TEACHING OF KAGEMNA.[1]

[The beginning is lost.]

I. The timid man is strong, and he who is just in word and deed is praised. The hall is opened to the humble man, and a wide room [is given to him] that is gentle in speech; but sharp knives are against him that would force a way. A man should not seek an entrance except at his [appointed] time.

II. If thou art seated at meat with many people hate (*i.e.*, abstain from) the food which thou lovest. It is only a minute's restraint of the appetite, and greediness is a disgrace and tends to gluttony. A cup of water will quench the thirst satisfactorily, and a mouthful only will stablish the heart. One good thing takes the place of another, and a small quantity even of something which is of inferior quality will take the place of a large quantity. He who is intent on satisfying the lust of the belly is a shameful person. Passing the time he is unable to loosen the body in strange houses.

III. If thou art seated at meat with a greedy man eat thou when he has finished his meal; and if thou art seated at meat with a winebibber, accept thou a drink whenever it pleases him to offer thee one. Reject not the pieces of flesh which [are found with] a man of bestial appetite. Take what he offers thee, and refuse it not; remember acceptance conduces to gentleness on his part.

[1] The hieratic text of this Teaching is found in the Prisse Papyrus, which is described on p. 51.

IV. If a man lacks the knowledge of what a man should know, and if nothing said [to him] moves him, and if he maintains a sullen attitude to the person who is well-disposed towards him, he is a calamity for his mother and for his neighbours and for people in general. Make thy name to come forth (*i.e.*, be known). Being silent (or, modest) in thy speech, thou shalt be proclaimed.

V. Be not arrogant because of thy strength when thou art among thy contemporaries. Take care to act in such a way that people do not oppose thee. No man knows what is going to happen, or what God will do when He strikes.

And the Wazîr (or, mayor) caused his children to be summoned to him having made himself fully acquainted with the dispositions of men, and they came being filled with wonder . . . . . He said to them : " Whatsoever is in writing on this roll pay heed unto it as if I myself were repeating it to you . . . . . " And the children laid themselves down flat upon their bellies, and they recited these sayings according to what was written. And in their opinion these sayings were more beautiful than everything else in the whole land, and [they recited them] both standing up and sitting down. His Majesty King Ḥuni died, and His Majesty Seneferu, the King of the South and the North, became the gracious King of all this land. And Kagemna was appointed governor of the town and Wazîr.

THE TEACHING OF PTAḤ-ḤETEP.

The only complete copy of this work known was purchased from a native of Western Thebes by Prisse d'Avennes, who was making excavations there, and was given by him to the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris in 1847. He published the text in an oblong quarto volume, entitled *Facsimile d'un papyrus Égyptien en caractères hiératiques*, trouvé à Thèbes, donné à la Bibliothèque Royale de Paris, et publié par E. Prisse d'Avennes, Paris, 1847. The papyrus was written under the XIth or XIIth dynasty, and supplies us with a copy, more or less accurate, of the text as it was received about B.C. 2500 or earlier. Hieroglyphic transcripts of this text were published by Virey, *Études sur le Papyrus Prisse*, Paris, 1887, and by myself, *Egyptian Reading Book*, London, 1896, pp. 244–274. A later Version of a portion of the Teaching is found in a papyrus which I acquired for the British Museum (No. 10,509), and on an ostrakon which was discovered by the late Lord Carnarvon. A valuable edition of all the available texts of both Versions has been published by E. Dévaud, *Les Maximes de Ptahhotep*, Fribourg, 1916. Translations of the Teaching, in whole or in part, have been made by Dr. Heath (*Proverbs of Aphobis*, 1864), Chabas (*Rev. Arch.*, XV, 1858), Lauth (*Sitzungsberichte der König. Bayer. Akad.* 1869, p. 530 ff.; 1870, p. 245), Virey (*Études*, Paris, 1887), Maspero (*Recueil*, XXXI, 146), Virey (*Records of the Past*, 2nd ed., Vol. III, p. 1), and others. The title of the work of Ptaḥ-ḥetep reads :—

THE TEACHING OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE TOWN, THE WAZÎR PTAḤ-ḤETEP, [WHO LIVED] UNDER THE MAJESTY OF THE KING OF THE SOUTH AND THE KING OF THE NORTH, ÁSSÁ, WHO LIVES FOR EVER AND EVER.

The Governor of the Town, the Wazîr Ptaḥ-ḥetep, says to the Majesty of the King of the South and the King of the North, Ássá, who lives for ever and ever: "O King my Lord, grey hairs have come upon me, old age has advanced, decay has come to me, oldness has taken the place of newness, some new defect settles upon one every day. The eyesight fails, the ears become stopped, the strength diminishes, the heart is sluggish, the mouth is silent and speaks not, the mind forgets and cannot remember the things of yesterday, every bone in the body aches, happiness turns into discomfort, the taste of everything vanishes. Old age makes men miserable in every way. The nose becomes stopped up and can smell nothing. It is misery for the old man whether he sits or stands up. Give the order then on behalf of thy servant here present to make a staff for my old age, and let my son stand in my place. Then will I tell him the speech of those who hearkened and the weighty sayings of the ancestors, and those who have obeyed the gods. And thou likewise, mayest thou act in such a way as to drive out strife from among the people, and to make those who dwell on both banks of the Nile serve thee loyally." The Majesty of this god (*i.e.* King Ássá) said: "Instruct him in the speech of olden time as thou sittest. O make him to be a marvel to the children

of the princes. May obedience enter into him, together with all rightmindedness which has been described. No one is born who possesses understanding naturally."

Here begin the Precepts in noble language which were uttered by the Prince and hereditary Chief, the father of the god, the beloved of the god, the son of the king, truly begotten by him, the Governor of the Town, the Wazîr Ptaḥ-ḥetep. They will teach the ignorant man to become a man of knowledge and to express himself in the best possible way, and will prove a blessing to him that will hearken to them, and a curse to him that will cast them behind him. He spake to his son[1] thus :—

I. Magnify not thy heart because of thy knowledge, and fill not thy heart with the thought about it because thou hast knowledge. Hold converse with the ignorant man as well as with the learned. No limit has been set to a handicraft, and no handicraftsman is equipped with all its excellences. Fine speech is hidden deeper than mother-of-emerald stone, and yet it is to be found among the women who grind flour at the mill.

II. If thou meetest a man of words who is bolder and better equipped than thyself in his hour (*i.e.* when he is coming to the conclusion of his speech), bend thy arm and bow thy back. Let not thy heart be carried away, let him not rest upon thee ; [but] make thou thyself small. When he says things that are evil make no attempt to stop him in his hour, so that he may be called the "man who knows nothing about things." Bear thy disgust. It is his treasure (or, food).

[1] Var. "to his son Ptaḥ-ḥetep the little" (*i.e.* junior).

III. If thou meetest a man of words in his hour, if he be one like thyself, that which is on thy shoulders set down and become wiser than he is through thy silence, whenever he is speaking evil things. Those who are listening will applaud him, but thy name will be fair in the opinion of the princes.

IV. If thou meetest a man of words in his hour, curse him not if he be thy inferior. Let not thy heart rage because of him, for he is a miserable being. Let him remain on the ground, he will punish himself.

V. If thou art in the position of a leader and it is thy duty to give orders to a great number of people, pursue thou a course which is wholly excellent, and continue in it until there is no defect whatsoever in thy administration. Truth (Maāt) is great, and her virtue is lasting, and she has never been overthrown since the time of Osiris (var. since Rā created it); the man who transgresses her behests (or, laws) is sorely punished. She is the path of him that is [not] a robber. The wicked can indeed steal possessions, but the wicked cannot attain to her state. There is great power in Truth, for she is permanent; the good man says: "She was a possession of my father."

VI. Make not terror to exist among the people, for it effects nothing; it is what God has decreed that happens.

VII. If thou art one of those who are sitting at table with a man who is greater than thyself, accept what he gives thee, what is set before thy nose. Look not at that which he has before him, but set thy gaze upon that which is before thee. Cast not a multitude of prying glances upon him, for this behaviour will cause him discomfort. Keep thy face turned downwards until he addresses

thee, and speak only when he speaks to thee. Laugh thou when he laughs. That will be exceedingly pleasing to his mind, and what thou doest will be very good behaviour. What is in the heart cannot be known. When a great man is [sitting] behind food, his commands are in accordance with his (disposition). A great man gives to the person whom he can reach, but the Ka makes him stretch his hands to those beyond. The eating of bread is under the dispensation of God. When plans of the night come into being, the ignorant man suffers loss thereby.

VIII. If thou art in the position of a man who is treated with confidence, whom one nobleman sends to another on business, when he sends thee on a mission conduct the business in a right and fitting manner. Perform the mission according to what he says to thee. Let not thy heart eat (*i.e.* hide) anything of what is said to thee, and guard thyself carefully against forgetting any part of it. Guard thyself also against making harsh the words which one nobleman may speak about another contemptuously by using the utterances of folk in general. Whether it be a nobleman or a man of no account, it is disgrace to the Ka.

IX. When thou ploughest, and there is abundant growth in thy field, and God gives a plentiful crop into thy hand, praise not the man who has no children, curse not, boast not, and eat not thy fill from the provisions of thy family. The fear of silence (?) works great things ; the man who is master of the *kat* weight is master of the goods [also], he seizes like the crocodile among the *qenbet* officials. . . . . .

X. If thou art a man in a menial position, and art in the service of a man of honourable estate, and thy treatment by God is good (or, generous),

seek not to acquire any knowledge whatsoever about his former estate. Make not great thy heart (*i.e.* be not arrogant) towards him because of what thou knowest about him and his former condition. Fear him because of what has happened to him, for behold, wealth comes not of itself; it is a law to those who love it. If he squanders it one fears him. It is God Who creates his honourable estate; if he fights on his own behalf he falls down (*i.e.* dies).

XI. Follow thy heart's desire as long as thou livest, and do not more than is ordered. Waste not the time in which thou canst follow thy heart's desire, for it is a hateful thing to the Ka (*i.e.* the natural disposition) to limit its period. Weary not thyself concerning the affairs of the day, nor be anxious overmuch about thy house and estate; things happen (or, come), follow [thy] inclination. . . . . .

XII. If thou wouldst be a perfect man and dost possess a house and estate, beget a son who shall be well-pleasing to God. If he does what is right, and if he imitates thee in thy actions, and hearkens to thy teaching, and his behaving is perfect in thy house, and he cares for thy property as if it was his own, seek thou for him every kind of honour. He is thy son whom thy heart's desire has begotten; let not thy heart drift away from him. . . . . But if he follows an evil course, and opposes thy plans, and does not carry out thy instructions, and his behaviour in thy house is detestable, and he treats with contempt all thy words, and sets his mouth in motion with vile words, and his face is turned away, and nothing remains in his hands, cast him away, for he is no son of thine, and he was not born for thee. He is thy servant by his tongue through his qualities

(or, characteristics) ; he is one who blames them. God will smite him in the body. He will never turn back to control them. The shipwrecked ones will not find a boat for themselves.

XIII. If thou art in the ante-chamber of a nobleman, whether thou art standing up or squatting, abase thyself the first day. Press not forward, lest thy being turned back should take place. Keep a keen watch on the confidential servant who announces thee ; the man who is summoned [by the nobleman] finds a wide seat (*i.e.* plenty of room). The ante-chamber of a nobleman is governed by precedence, and all its procedure is according to rule. It is God who advances the seat of him that is advanced. It is not effected by the shoulder of a man (*i.e.* by force).

XIV. If thou art with common people make thyself like the peasant folk by concealing thy mind. The man who conceals his mind enjoys a good reputation, if he does not wander about after the word of his body. He becomes his own master, a master of affairs by his own planning. Thy name is good without thy word. Thy limbs (or, body) are fat ; thy face is with (?) thee, thou praisest thyself without knowing it. The man who is small of heart (timid ?) hearkens to his body, he sets his defects (or, littlenesses) in the place of his love, his heart becomes a wretched thing, his members dwindle to nothing. The man who is great of heart (*i.e.* bold) is one of God's men. He hearkens to the command of his heart, his enemy becomes his possession.

XV. Declare thy mission and conceal nothing. Devote all thy thought to the counsel of thy lord. . . . . Supposing that a noble destroys his possessions : even if he (*i.e.* the envoy) thinks of opposing

him in the matter, he must hold his peace, having already spoken to him.

XVI. If thou art in the position of a leader, press forward thy plans by thy commands; do thou what thou hast decided upon. But remember (or, take good heed concerning) the days that are to follow. If there be no word on thy behalf among those who are praised, calamity will overwhelm thee and misery will overtake thee.

XVII. If thou art in the position of a leader (or, one to whom petitions are made), be courteous, and listen to the petition of the petitioner. Stop not his words, until he has poured out all that is in his heart and has said what he came to say. A man with a petition to make loves the official who will agree to what he says, and will let him talk out his grievance fully. Every petitioner rejoices to have his grievance heard. A fair word rejoices (literally, paints) the heart. If an official stops the flow of words of the petitioner, the people say: "Why is this fellow there having the power to act in this way?"

XVIII. If thou wishest to maintain a permanent friendship in the house to which thou art in the habit of going, whether as master, or whether as brother, or whether as friend, or in fact in any place to which thou hast the entry, strive against associating with the women. The place which they frequent is not good. The man who is not prudent follows after them. A thousand men seeking what is beautiful are destroyed by them. A man is made a fool of by their shining limbs, but they turn into things that are harder than quartzite sandstone. The pleasure is only for a little moment, and it [passes] like a dream, and a man at the end thereof finds death through knowing it. . . . . .

XIX. If thou wouldst have thy lot as a leader a happy one, guard thyself against every evil deed,

and above all fight against the vice of avarice, which is a disease fraught with pain that cannot be conquered. Confidence cannot exist side by side with it. It turns fathers and mothers into evil folk, and also the brothers of the mother. It turns the kindly friend into a bitter enemy, it drives away the trusted servant from his master, and it makes a wife hateful to her husband. It is a strong treasure-house of every kind of evil, and a purse containing abominable vices of every kind. The man who has truth (maāt) for his tow-line walks whither her steps lead him, and acquires house and estate; but the avaricious possesses not even a tomb.

XX. Be not avaricious when a division of property is made, and be not greedy, and what is thy due shall come to thee. Be not avaricious in thy dealings with thy kinsfolk. The prayer of the long-suffering man is greater than force, even though he be of no account among the people of his own time, and is destitute of the gifts of speech. A very little avarice about a matter of the kind will make hostility to arise even in the man who is usually cool-hearted (*i.e.*, unexcitable).

XXI. If thou wouldst be wise (or, prosperous) stablish thyself in a house (*i.e.*, get married). Love thou thy wife in the house wholly and rightly. Fill her belly and clothe her back; oil for anointing is the medicine for her limbs. Make her heart to rejoice as long as thou livest; she is a profitable field for her lord. Enter not into disputes with her. She will withdraw herself before force. . . . . Make her to prosper permanently in thy house. If thou art hostile to her she is a well (or, ditch); she gives herself to herself.

XXII. Satisfy thy servants whom thou trustest with thy possessions, so that they may feel as if

they had been rewarded by God. If a man is niggardly in satisfying his trusted servants, he is declared to be a thievish person. . . . . No man knows what will happen as he meditates in the morning. When troublesome events come upon him it will be the trusted servants who will bid him "Welcome." Peace (?) cannot be brought to the town (or, estate), and when it is brought by the servants ruin supervenes.

XXIII. Repeat not the words spoken by a man who is furiously angry; hearken not to him; they are the outpouring of a heated mind (or, body). At the repetition of a matter, look on, hear not; let it go to the ground. . . . . .

XXIV. If thou art in the position of a man of high rank who sits in the council of his lord, devote thy heart entirely to what is good (or, perfect). To hold thy peace is better for thee than the *teftef* flower. Speak thou only when thou knowest a matter and canst explain it. Behold, the word is a handicraftsman who speaks in the council, and speech is the most laborious of all works. The explanation thereof hands one over to the staff [of punishment].

XXV. If thou art strong, make respect for thyself to spread with understanding and with gentleness of speech. Command not except when thou canst guide; abuse brings a man to calamity. Be not haughty in thy heart, lest it be humbled. Keep not silence entirely, take care as to the path thou treadest. Answer a word in a suitable (?) manner. Put away . . . . . control thyself. Subdue the heated emotions of an ardent mind. The man who walks softly fashions his path aright. The man who toils the whole day long never passes a happy moment; and the man who indulges in pleasure all the day long never acquires

possessions. Seize a time for rest as does the steersman ; the time he is on land another toils (*i.e.*, grasps the pole). . . . . .

XXVI. Approach not a great man in his hour, and irritate not the heart of him who is heavily burdened with care. Injury caused by him comes upon him that is hated by him. He sets free his Ka, he loves him who gives food, who is with God. What he loves he does. . . . . There is peace with his Ka [when] the calamity has fallen (?)

XXVII. Instruct thou a nobleman in the matters which will be advantageous to him ; make his splendour to be among the people ; make thou that what a man knows shall fall (*i.e.*, be attributed) to his lord. Thine own food depends upon his Ka (*i.e.*, good pleasure) ; a kindly (or, loving) heart obtains the meals which satisfy, and thine own back becomes clothed thereby. His light (?) is upon thee to make thy house to live. . . . . He offers a gracious (*i.e.*, helpful) shoulder. . . . Verily he who hearkens is a being who is loved.

XXVIII. If thou art the son of a man who is a member of council and art chosen to go on a mission to make tranquil the multitude, search out the matter with strict justice, and declare thy finding, taking no side. Take heed to what one says as do the chiefs . . . . . it is for thee to adjust the case rather than to act as judge.

XXIX. If thou hast been long-suffering with a man in time past, and thou art wearied by a man suing for his right, turn thyself away from him, and remember him not. Whilst he keeps silent to thee . . . . . the first day.

XXX. If thou hast become great, having been once in a very lowly state, and if thou hast acquired possessions, having been at one time in a state of destitution in the quarter of the city that is known

to thee, forget not that which happened to thee in the times that are past. Set not thy heart's confidence on thy goods, which have, after all, only come to thee as gifts of God. Thou wouldst not be superior to any other man if what has happened to thee had happened to him.

XXXI. Bend thy back in reverence to him that is thy chief and thy governor by virtue of the power that he derives from the House (*i.e.*, authority) of the King. Thy house and all that is in it shall prosper thereby, and thou shalt receive the wages that it is meet for thee to have. It is a bad thing to set oneself in opposition to the man who is appointed chief. A man lives as long as he displays gentleness and patience. A man should never injure the shoulder that covers (*i.e.*, protects) him. Rob not the house of the peasants, and seize not by force the property that comes into thy hands. He (*i.e.*, thy chief) will not revile thee because of what thou hast heard. . . . . If he knows it he will be hostile to thee. It is a bad thing to set thyself in opposition in the place which thou hast entered.

XXXII. Have no intercourse with a woman-child . . . . . .

XXXIII. If thou seekest for friendship with a man, ask not for it, but go to his house, and pass the time (or, pay a visit) with him alone, so that he may not be able to make his attitude to thee unpleasant. Talk wisely to him after a certain period. Find out what his mind is by conversing with him. If there comes up as a subject something that he has seen thee do, or if he does something that makes thee to be ashamed, hold thy peace or show thyself friendly to him ; browbeat him not. Prepare an answer for him with words that will tell, answer not in a way that will irritate him ;

do not leave him, and do not harass (?) him. His moment must not come, and he must not be cast down at what has been ordered for him.

XXXIV. Let thy face shine with cheerfulness as long as thou livest. When there comes forth from the storehouse one of those who went in at the distribution of loaves of bread and his face is set in a frown, he makes known the emptiness of his belly, and he becomes an enemy, being unsatisfied. Do not let any man approach thee and find thee with a gloomy face. A man wishes to remember what is pleasant in the years that he has yet to live (?).

XXXV. Know thy people (or, acquaintances) when thy prosperity is at a low ebb; thy character (or, reputation) is more than thy friends. It fills the river-side; it is greater than a man's valuable possessions. Riches pass from one man to another. It is an excellent thing for the son of a man to have a [good] character. Good qualities are remembered.

XXXVI. . . . . .

XXXVII. If thou takest as a handmaid a woman who has always enjoyed good cheer, and is of a merry disposition and is well known to her fellow townsfolk, and she is as thy lawful wife, and is good to look upon, drive her not away, but supply her with food to eat (or, make her fat with good food).

[Here ends the Teaching of Ptaḥ-ḥetep.]

Ptaḥ-ḥetep's Comments on his Teaching.

I. If thou wilt hearken to these things which I have said to thee, thy condition of life will be like unto that of all those who have gone before thee.

And besides the truth that belongs to them remains their beauty: the memory of them shall never depart from the mouths of men by reason of the beauty of their phrasing. Every word will pass current as a thing that can never perish in this land, and it will beautify exceedingly the utterances that the princes and nobles make. It is the Teaching that a man should hand on when speaking to his posterity, so that they may hear it. Thereby he becomes a craftsman in speech, and having heard fine speech himself, he declares it to those who shall come after him, so that they likewise may hear what he has heard. If a well-doing disposition exists in him that is set at the head of affairs he will always be beneficent, and all his wisdom shall endure for ever and ever. The soul that is well trained (or, is understanding) rejoices when its wisdom is established, and it is happy when it is prosperous on the earth. Behold, he becomes a prince through his well-doing disposition, his heart serves as the counterpoise to his tongue, and his lips are true when he speaks, his eyes see rightly, and his two ears hear at the same time. It is a very excellent thing for his son to do what is right, and to keep himself from falsehood [in word and deed].

II. It is a good thing for the son who hears to have heard. He who hears enters in as one who has heard, and he who has heard becomes a hearer who hears what is good and speaks what is good. Everyone who has heard is an excellent person, and it is an excellent thing for him that has already heard [teaching] to hear [more]. To hear is the best of all qualities (or, characteristics), and beautiful affection springs into being thereby. How beautiful is it to see a son searching into the Teaching of his father; through this act he will

attain to old age. The man who loves God will hear, but he whom God hates will not hear. Behold, it is the heart of a man that makes its possessor hear or not hear. The heart of a man is life, strength and health to him. Behold, he who has heard hears the word, and he who loves to hear is he who will perform words. How beautiful it is when a son hearkens to his father! And how happy is he (*i.e.*, the father) to whom these words are applicable! How beautiful is the son as a lord of hearing, who has heard and of whom it can be said, He is good in his body, and is treasured by his father! The memorial of him shall be ever in the mouths of those who are alive on the earth at this present, and in the mouths of unborn generations.

III. If the son of a man receives what his father says to him, none of his plans shall fail. Thou art instructed by a son who hearkens. His merit [becomes known] among the princes. His control is over that which he speaks—seeing in hearing . . . . . Calamity overtakes [the son who] will not hear. The man of knowledge rises betimes to stablish himself, but the fool of a man injures himself.

IV. The fool of a man who has not hearkened effects nothing whatsoever. He looks upon the man of knowledge as a man who knows nothing, and the qualities of virtue and excellence he considers to be defects. He does every kind of thing that is reprehensible, and these cause him to be abused daily. He lives (*i.e.*, flourishes) upon that through which men die, and his bread is that which is filthy and abominable. But his character and disposition are well known to the princes. He goes on living day by day, but he is as one dead, and people keep themselves at a distance from him

because of his evil moods, and because of the many calamities that come upon him every day.

V. The son who has hearkened is like a Follower of Horus, and when he has hearkened good [comes] to him. When he is old and has attained the state when reverence is paid to him, he tells his children the things that were told to him, and so makes new the instruction of his father. Every man instructs as he has been instructed, and tells his children what he has been told, and they tell it again to their children.

VI. Build up a character and gainsay not thy precept (?). Make Truth to flourish, give life to thy children. If . . . . . it will come bearing sins (or, defects). Act thou in such a way that the people when they see thee shall say: "Behold, he is exactly like that one"; and that when they hear of thee they shall also say: "Behold, he is exactly like that one." The people shall see and shall [say] . . . . . subduing the multitude . . . . . .

VII. Suppress no word [in this book], and add nothing to it, and set not one thing in the place of another. Take good heed not to open the writings (?) that thou hast; instruct according to the [traditional] word. Thou, a man of learning, hearken thyself. Desire thou to establish thy behest in the mouths of those who hear. [Let thy speech be suitable to the occasion] and let every plan of thine be in its place.

VIII. Make thy heart to sink as in water, control thy mouth, so shall thy plans be among the princes. Make thyself to be wholly in accord with thy lord, make him to say: "This is my son." Then shall those who hear these words say: "Assuredly praise is due to his begetters." Concentrate thy mind at the time when thou art

speaking, and thou shalt make remarkable utterances, and the princes who hear them shall say: "Good, good are the things that come forth from his mouth."

IX. Act in such a way that thy lord shall say of thee:—The Teaching of his father must have been very, very good. He came forth from him (*i.e.*, his father), the first of his loins. He has declared his Teaching to him, and the whole of it is in his body, and what he did in making him was greater than what he said to him. Behold a good son, of the gift of God, who has done more than his lord ordered him to do. He does that which is right, and his heart does (*i.e.*, follows) according to his footsteps.

May thy members have strength (or, good health) similar to that which I have obtained, the King at the same time being satisfied with everything that has happened, and mayest thou be master of [many] years of life. It is not a little thing that I have upon the earth. I have obtained one hundred and ten years of life, which the King has given to me, in addition to the favours which surpassed those of my ancestors, for doing what was right for the King up to the place of reverence (*i.e.*, to old age).

Here ends [the book]—its beginning to its end as it was found in writing.

THE TEACHING OF ṬUAUF, THE SON OF KHATTAI.

THE BEGINNING OF THE TEACHING THAT WAS COMPOSED BY A MAN OF THE *THART*, WHOSE NAME IS ṬUAUF, THE SON OF KHATTAI, FOR HIS SON WHOSE NAME IS PEPI, WHEN HE WAS SAILING UP THE RIVER WITH HIM TO KHENNU (OR TO THE COURT?), TO PLACE HIM IN THE HOUSE OF THE TEACHING OF BOOKS (*i.e.*, WITH THE SONS OF THE PRINCES OF KHENNU). He said to him :—

I. I have considered the exhaustion caused by labour, I repeat I have considered it ; [therefore] devote thy mind to books. I have also considered who has been released from the *corvée*, and assuredly there is nothing more [to be esteemed] than books. They are like a well. Dig down deeply therefore into the depth of Kamit (*i.e.*, the literature of Egypt), and thou wilt find the following aphorism : As for the scribe, any (or every) position at Court may be his ; he needs not be a beggar therein. The man who works to satisfy another never obtains a settled position. I have considered the other professions likewise, and to them also this aphorism may be applied. I would make thee to love books as thy mother. I would bring in their beauties before thy face, for the profession of the scribe is greater than any other—there is nothing equal to it upon the earth. Even when he is a beginner and is making progress, though still

a mere youth, his views are discussed. He is despatched on missions of state, but does not come [back] to place himself under restraint (?).

II. I have never seen the blacksmith (literally, the man who casts statues in metal) in charge of a mission, or the gold-worker despatched on one. But I have seen the coppersmith at his work at the door of his blazing fiery furnace. His fingers are [knotted and rough] like the hide of the crocodile, and he stinks more than the guts of fish.

III. Every artisan who wields the chisel, has he any more rest than[1] the ploughman? His fields are [made of] wood, his tools of tillage are of copper. He is released from work in the night-season, and works more than he did with his arms [in the day-time]; in the night-season he lights his lamp.

IV. The stone-mason is always seeking blocks of sandstone of all kinds suitable for his work. When his period of work is ended in the evening, his arms are weary, and he (*i.e.*, his whole body) is exhausted. He sits himself down when Rā enters [the Ṭuat], and his thighs and the bones of his back [seem] as if they were coming asunder.

V. The barber shaves until far into the night. When he sets himself to eat (?) he must put himself on his upper arm. He betakes himself from one quarter of the town to another in search of the men who want shaving (*i.e.*, his customers). He tortures his hands and arms to fill his belly, just as do the honey-flies (*i.e.*, bees) which devour their own productions.

VI. The waterman (?) has to work down the river into the Delta in order to gain his wages. He must toil excessively and work as long as his

[1] Or, perhaps, "he needs more rest than the ploughman."

arms are able to do so. The mosquitoes (?) and gnats sting him to death, his stink chokes (?) him. He sets out for his garden, he sets out for his house. . . . . .

VII. The workman (or, mud-puddler) who builds dams (or, makes bricks) in the fields must pass his time among the cattle. He has to do work in the vineyards and for the pigs. He cooks his food (?) in the fields. His garments are stiff with the mud which is caked on them, the straps break (?). If he goes into the wind it stifles him ; when his fire appears (*i.e.*, burns up) he is comfortable. He works wooden tools with his feet. If he frees himself from them and crosses the threshold, he is driven from the place.

VIII. I will speak to thee also about the builder of walls. He is eaten up with disease, for he lives out in the open air among the winds. The building material is in his garb. He is tied to the walls like the lilies (?) in order to attain to what he seeks. His arms are in evil case . . . . all his clothes are dilapidated. He eats the bread of his fingers, he washes himself once only.

His misery is so great that it can hardly be described correctly . . . . . from one chamber to another, ten cubits by six cubits . . . . . from one month to another he clings to the scaffolding like the lilies on the houses, doing work of every kind. If he has bread [to eat] it is to his house that he gives it. His children are cruelly beaten [by him].

IX. The gardener brings in to me gazelle (*sic*). His shoulders are bowed under crushing loads, and his arms and his neck become diseased. He spends the forenoon in watching the onions and the afternoon in attending to the vines. He is obliged to work every day, and everything he does exhausts his body.

X. The farm-labourer, his clothes [last] for ever.[1] He has a raucous voice like that of the corncrake (?) His fingers and hands and arms are dried up by the winds and are cracked. He is worked to exhaustion . . . . . a man would choose the security afforded by lions to that which he has. The taste of death is in him. His roof (?) is the earth among them. He comes through the fields, he comes to his house in the evening, and is utterly worn out by the journey.

XI. The weaver sits in a closed hut, and has a lot which is worse than that of a woman. His thighs are drawn up close to his body, and he cannot breathe freely. The day on which he fails to do his tale of woven work he is dragged out [from his hut] like a lily (or lotus) from the pool. Only by bribing the watchman at the door with [his] bread-cakes can he make him let him see the sunlight.

XII. The spear-maker (literally, the maker of weapons for fighting) suffers sorely when he has to go out into the hills. He must pay much money for the hire of the asses and [their drivers], and his expenses for provender for them on the way are very great. He comes through the fields, he comes to his house, and is utterly worn out by the journey.

XIII. The envoy (?) when he is about to come forth into the mountainous country (or, desert) bequeaths his possessions to his children, being afraid of lions and the thievish nomads, the Āamu. And when he returns to Egypt, and has come through the fields, and reaches his house at nightfall, he is utterly broken by the fatigues of the journey.

[1] Or, perhaps, "The farm-labourer is always held accountable by his employer."

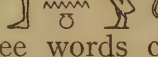
XIV. The reed-cutter, his fingers are filthy, and the stink of them is that of the dealer in fish (?) His eyes are dazed (or, sunken), his hand never rests. He passes the whole day in cutting papyrus (?), he detests [wearing] clothes.

XV. The lot of the sandal-maker is an evil one indeed. He must beg [for work] everlastingly. His health is the health of a hooked-fish (?) He gnaws the strips of leather.

XVI. The washerman who toils on the river bank is a neighbour (?) of the crocodile. . . . . filth rises on the water, his hand never stops. It is not a restful profession which I now set before thee, or the happiest of all professions! His food is mixed up with his apparel, not one of his members is clean, he must put himself into the garments of women. His miserable state is one to weep over. He spends his whole day with the stick for beating the clothes [in his hands]. When clothes are brought to him to wash he is told that if he delays he will be beaten (?)

XVII. The snarer of wild-fowl toils exceedingly hard when he tries to see the birds as they fly high in the sky. When he sees the birds in a mass in the sky, he says: "How I wish that I had a net handy!" but God does not give him his heart's desire to help him to carry out his thoughts.

XVIII. Moreover I tell thee that the trade of the fisherman is the worst of all trades. Does he not verily have to toil in the waters of the river, where he is mixed up with the crocodiles? When the river-plants are sparse there is no one to cry out to him, "A crocodile lurking there." Fear blinds his eyes. . . . . Verily there is no occupation than which better cannot be found except the profession of the scribe, which is the best of all.

XIX. When a man knows the books one will say, "They are good for thee." No other profession will I set before thee (?); verily each worker curses his work [except the scribe]. No man says to the scribe, "Work in the fields for such and such a man." Verily that which I am now doing as I sail up the river to Khennu (the Court ?), behold, I do it for love of thee. Even one day [spent] in the house of instruction (*i.e.*, school) is profitable for thee, and the work done therein will endure as long as the mountains. These are the things that I would have thee to know quickly, quickly, for they drive away the Beast (or, Serpent ?) Betennu  .

XX. I will [now] speak to thee words concerning other matters, to instruct thee and make thee to know [how to behave] and how to avoid contention (or, quarrelling). Be thou one of those who have weight (a settled object ?) in their plans, for if a man adopts an object hastily he knows not where his plans will end. A man may have lapis lazuli (?) in his hand [for] the lions. . . . . .

XXI. When thou art following in the train of princes walk decorously, as if thou wert feeling pleasure. When thou goest into a house and findest the master therein, the hands of another not being before thee,[1] sit down, [lay] thy hand on thy mouth, and ask no questions of anyone who may happen to be near thee. He who says "[Tell me,] I pray," is like the man who tries to break a cudgel with a twig (?)[2]

[1] Or, perhaps, "and findest the master therein [engaged] in discussing with another man affairs [of which thou art ignorant]."

[2] Ṭuauf is here quoting a proverb; he quotes it again a few paragraphs later.

XXII. Ur-shefit lays a burden upon thee. Utter no cryptic words ; he who conceals his body (or, mind) works against him. Speak not words of pride and arrogance, even when thou art sitting by thyself, or, according to a variant reading, alone.

XXIII. When thou comest out of the house of teaching (*i.e.*, school)—it having been told thee that midday has come—and thou goest singing (or, shouting) about the courtyards of the houses, I charge thee not to enter into [the houses] to which they belong.

XXIV. When a great man of the town sends thee on an errand, deliver the message which he gave thee word for word, even as he uttered it. Take nothing away from the message which he gave, and abandon [the idea] of making any addition to it. Let him not set his heart. He is filled with [good] qualities of every kind, there exist no hidden things to him, no place is large enough to contain him.

XXV. Speak not lies to (or, concerning) thy mother, for the sake of this Great Chief (Osiris ?). . . . . Act not in any wise against her, not even when thou art by thyself or, according to a variant reading, alone. If thou art one who despises the belly thou wilt be hearkened to. If, when thou hast eaten three bread-cakes, and hast drunk two pitchers of beer, thy belly is not full, thou must fight against it (*i.e.*, thy ravenous appetite). If another man is filled therewith make no stand : it is like a man trying to break a cudgel with a twig.

XXVI. Behold, it is a good thing for thee to dismiss the crowd of people that are about thee, [so that] thou canst hear [privily] the words of the nobles. O that I could make myself like unto

thee—a son of men (?). Thou marchest like one who has made himself the master of . . . . . The scribe who hears (or, obeys) is seen [and known] ; he who obeys becomes a man of might. Fight against the words that are against (*i.e.*, condemn) it. Make thy feet hasten when thou marchest and spare not thyself. . . . . Make thyself to be friendly with thy young companions.

XXVII. Behold, the goddess Renenit is on the way of God, and it is the goddess Renenit whom the scribe has upon his shoulder on the day of his birth, and when having become a man, he enters the Council Chamber. Verily there is no scribe who does not eat the food of the King ; life, strength, and health be to him !

XXVIII. The goddess Meskhenit makes the scribe to flourish and to prosper, and sets him at the head of the Council. Ṭua-Rā is his father and his mother (or, his father and his mother praise Rā). They set him on the path of life.

Behold, these are the things that I would set before thee, and before the children of his (*i.e.*, his son's) children.

THE TEACHING WHICH KING KHATI WROTE FOR HIS SON MERIKARĀ.

The hieratic text of this Teaching is only found in copies of it which were made by the scribes who flourished under the New Empire, and is preserved at St. Petersburg and Moscow. It was published by Golénischeff in *Les Papyrus Hiératiques No. No.* 1115, 1116A *et* 1116B *de L'Ermitage Impérial à St. Pétersbourg*, 1913. The photographic facsimiles are accompanied by a transcript of the hieratic text into hieroglyphs.[1] The first two or three columns are much mutilated, and little connected sense can be got from the fragments.

I. The few words which remain suggest that the king tells his son what characteristic in a man he considers to be absolutely essential for ruling successfully.

II–IV. These paragraphs deal with the suppression of rebellion.

V. The king, considering the case of a man who is friendly with disloyal folk, and possesses the gift of fluent speech, and is very popular with many in the city and can bend them to his will, and is a mischievous chatterer, advises his son to seize him, and kill him, and blot out his name, and wipe out every memorial of his existence, and suppress all who were his adherents.

[1] An English translation of most of the published text was given by Gardiner in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. I, p. 22 ff.

VI. A quarrelsome discontented man causes uproar in a city, and will split the community into two parties. If thou dost find a man of this kind, but canst not thyself deal adequately with him, summon him to appear before the council, and prosecute him as a rebel, for he is one. A chatterer in any case causes trouble in a city. Curb the mob. The man with nothing to lose rebels naturally.

VII. A king must not punish in the heat of passion; use discretion in punishing, and thy people will rejoice. Show thyself to be a speaker of the truth before the God. . . . . The heaven of a man is a good disposition (or, nature); the curse of a man who is broken-hearted through suffering is a terrible thing (or, calamity).

VIII. Make thyself a craftsman in speech, for thereby thou shalt gain the upper hand. The tongue of a man is his weapon, and speech is mightier than fighting. No man can come behind him that is skilled in heart. . . . . Those who do not know cannot seize the man who knows, and where he is no evil thing takes place. Truth comes to him in a well rubbed-down state in the form of the sayings of the ancestors.

IX. Follow after (or, imitate) thy fathers of olden time. The [mind] is trained by knowledge. Behold, their words stand fast in writing. Open [their book], read, and follow their wise counsels, and in this wise shall the workman become a man who has been taught. Be not evil; good is graciousness (or, sympathy). Let thy loving sympathy stand as a permanent memorial of thee. Multiply thy [benefit] . . . in the city. The people will give thanks to God for thy benefactions, and they will praise thy goodness, and will pray for thy health [in years to come].

X. Pay honour to princes, and treat thy people well. Make the boundaries of thy country to flourish (*i.e.*, enlarge them), and the districts about thee. It is a good thing to work (*i.e.*, make provision) for what is (or, those who are) to come after. Pay honour to a life of work, for he who is satisfied in heart becomes an evil . . . . . It is a despicable thing for a man to fetter the land (his estate ?). The man who has nothing is greedy for the property [of others] . . . . . upon earth has no continuity . . . . . .

XI. Make great thy princes and they will carry out thy laws. The man who possesses wealth in his house favours no man ; the man with possessions has no need of [bribes]. The poor man does not say what it would be right for him [to say], and the man who says, " I would have more " is not trustworthy for he will favour the side that will bribe him. A prince is truly great when his princes are great ; a king is strong when he has *shenit* (*i.e.*, mighty men) about him. Awe-inspiring is he who has many princes about him. Speak what is true in thy house, and the princes who are on the earth shall fear thee. All is well when the Lord is right of heart, [for] the chief (or, innermost ?) chamber makes reverence to be felt for the outside thereof.

XII. Do the right, and thou shalt continue upon the earth. Make the weeper to cease his plaint. Fleece not the widow woman. Drive no man away from the property of his father (*i.e.*, ancestral estate). Defraud not the princes by removing them from their hereditary offices. Take good heed not to inflict punishment unjustly. Slay none unnecessarily ; it will not be profitable for thee. Inflict punishment by means of beatings and putting men under restraint ; through treatment of this kind this land shall have a sure

foundation. But an exception to this treatment shall be the rebel whose plottings have been found out. God knows the evil-hearted. God smites him for transgressions against Him even to blood. . . . . Slay not the man with whose virtues thou art acquainted, with whom thou hast in times past sung the writings [in school] and read the [Sapu Book] of God. Enter with a long stride the place of hidden things (or, mysteries). The soul of the man who is slain, , comes to the place which it knows, it steps not aside from the ways of yesterday. No words of power (*i.e.*, magical spells) can turn it back, and it advances to the place where waters flow for it.

[For paragraph XIII, see page 17.]

XIV. Train up the young men to be soldiers and thou wilt be beloved by the Court, and let thy retinue of servants be great and numerous. See that thy town is always filled with hale young men who have newly arrived, being twenty years of age. Young men rejoice in following the dictates of their hearts. Successors of dependants appear, and a father with his children . . . . . Thus I raised soldiers when I ascended the throne. Make great thy great men, promote [those who fight] for thee. I pray thee to increase thy young men who follow thee, provided with inventories (?), endowed with fields and supplied with cattle.

XV. Make no distinction in thy behaviour towards the son of a man of rank and the son of a man of humble parentage, but attach to thyself a man by reason of what his hands have effected. All handicrafts are performed according to the . . . . . the Lord of Strength. Guard thy

border, set up thy lasting monuments, so that the *corvée* gangs may be profitable to their lord. Set up thy [fine] monumental buildings to God, for this will make to live the name of him that builds them. Let a man do what is of benefit to his souls, [that is to say] let him make the monthly purification, and take the white sandals, and betake himself to the temple, and unveil what is usually secret, and enter the shrine (or, sanctuary), and eat bread in the house of the god.

XVI. Make the libation tank to overflow, make great (or, large) the bread-cakes, multiply the daily offerings, for it benefits the man who does this. Make to flourish thy monuments according to thy wealth (or, power). One day [only] will provide for eternity, and one hour [only] will produce benefit for him that comes after. God has knowledge of the man who works for him. Carry statues of thyself into a remote land, and let not the people count [the labour] of doing so. Sick is the man who lacks a thing to fight about, in the interior of Egypt the fighting man is never cool.

XVII. Young recruits attack young recruits, according to what the men of olden time have said about the matter. Egypt fights in the cemetery, smashing the tombs and smashing. . . . . Thus did I myself and thus did it happen. . . . . Entreat not evilly the country of the South. Thou knowest what the Court said concerning it in times past, and it came to pass even as these things came to pass. They did not invade it, as they said. . . . . The town of Ten (Thinis), which was the boundary on the south, and as far Taut (?), I captured it like a water flood. King Meri[ka]-Rā, whose word is truth,[1] did not do this. Be

[1] *I.e.*, this king was dead.

long-suffering in ruling that country . . . . . act wisely, having regard to the future.

XVIII. Keep on good terms with the region of the South. Men will come to thee bowed under loads with offerings. I acted as the men of olden time did. If a man has no grain to give [as tribute] be compassionate, for they are feeble folk by the side of thee. Fill thyself full of thine own bread-cakes and beer. Then shall the granite come to thee [from Sun, *i.e.*, Syene] without any hindrance. Destroy not the monuments of another man, but hew stone for thyself in Reau.[1] Build not thy tomb with stones from a wrecked tomb. . . . . Behold, thou KING, Lord of joy of heart, thou art lazy, thou sleepest in thy strength. Follow thy inclination as I have done and thou shalt not have an enemy within thy border.

XIX. A certain man stood up, he was a lord of the town, and his heart was broken because of Ta-Meḥu (*i.e.*, the Delta), from Ḥet-shennu to Sebaqa, its southern border as far as the marsh land of Khaui (near Herakleopolis). I settled the country on the west [of the Delta] as far as the margins of the Lake (or, Sea). They work (or, pay tribute), it yields. . . . . The Eastern country is full of nomad Arabs, their tribute . . . . . .

[The next five paragraphs are full of difficult words and passages. They refer to the writer's conquest of the country to the north-east of Egypt, including Syria. He had subjugated it as far as Ḳantarah, and apparently had established garrisons to keep away the Semites and other Asiatic peoples. He now wishes to see a strong man arise

[1] *I.e.*, the quarries of Turah, about 20 miles south of Cairo on the East bank of the Nile.

in the person of his son. And, moreover, he says, the Peṭt peoples (*i.e.*, the nomad tribes of Palestine and Syria) may be described thus. The Āmu are a despicable folk. The region in which they live is a miserable place, the water of the well[s] is horrible, it is difficult to travel about in because of the great number of the trees (or, jungle), and their roads are bad because of the mountainous districts. The Āmu is never to be found in the same place, and his feet are always on the move, marching from one place to another. He has been fighting ever since the time of Horus. He conquers nobody and nobody conquers him. He never announces the day on which he is going to fight, and is like the captain who rushes off suddenly to quell a rebellion. During my time the Peṭt tribes of the Āmu were like a weapon in a fortress. . . . . I allowed the people of Ta-Meḥu (*i.e.*, the North-land, or Delta) to fight them. I carried away captive their holders of land and their cattle . . . . . the Āmu are a beastly folk to the Egyptians. Let not thy heart have concern about him. He will attack and rob an isolated encampment, but he will not attack a walled town. Dig down the dyke and flood half of the district as far as Kamui (Athribis), verily it is the navel-cord of the nomads of the desert. Its walls are manned with armed men, its inhabitants are many and they know how to handle . . . . . Then there is the town of Ṭeṭu-Åsut,[1] the people whereof are ten thousand in number, and they are free and untaxed. There are princes in it who from the time of Rā have gone to the Court [Memphis?]. Its borders are well defined, its coast-guards are strong, and it has many Northern men (*i.e.*, Delta folk) in it, and

[1] A part of the modern district of Ṣaḳḳârah, to the South of Memphis.

they irrigate (?) it. The North-land gives tribute in the shape of grain. Behold, it is the lands of wood of the North-land. They built a dyke that reached to Ḥensu (Hanes—Herakleopolis). . . . . Take good care not to be hemmed in by hostile subjects. . . . . .

When there is revolt on thy southern border it is the Peṭt folk (*i.e.*, nomad tribes) who will take up arms against thee. Therefore build forts (block-houses ?) in the North-land. A man's name is not belittled because of what he has done, and the city that is protected cannot be injured. Build forts. . . . . The enemy loves the man who is evil-hearted, for his disposition is vile. King KHATI,[1] whose word is truth, has laid down the following in his wise counsel : He who is silent (*i.e.*, inactive) against the man of violent heart is destroyed ; God fights against the man who is an enemy of the temple.

Here the section of the text that contains Khati's advice of a political character comes to an end ; he now harks back to his moral Teaching.

XXV. There shall come one . . . . . who shall carry it out ; he shall understand what has been decreed . . . . . the day of his coming. Provide drink offerings in abundance. Pay honour to God, and say not : " He is poor-spirited." Let not thy hands and arms drop in idleness, but work willingly. What destroys heaven is apathy (?). Monuments are regarded by an enemy, [for] he does not destroy them because he wishes that what he himself has made shall be maintained in good order by him who comes after him. There exists no man who has not an enemy. [The Lord] of the Two Lands understands affairs, and the King who

[1] Presumably Khati I, the founder of the Herakleopolitan Dynasty.

is surrounded by nobles does not act stupidly. He was wise even when he came forth from the womb ; he was set apart (or, distinguished) to be at the head of the land of millions [of men].

XXVI. Kingship is a splendid rank. Even when [a king] has no son and no brother to perpetuate his monuments, lo, one king maintains the reputation of another. A man works on behalf of his predecessor, because he wishes that what he himself has done shall be maintained in good order by his successor. Behold, an evil happening took place in my time, that is to say, the funerary districts of Tenu (Thinis) were laid waste. It took place because of an act of my own, and I only had knowledge of it after the deed was done. Verily my punishment was in proportion to what I had done. A contemptible man and unprofitable is he who thinks that he can make to flourish again what he has laid waste, or build up what he has overthrown, restoring its perfect state and beauty. Take good heed to this matter ; a blow struck brings a counter blow in its train ; and this is the irresistible result of every action (or, deed).

[For Paragraphs XXVII and XXVIII, see page 21 ff.]

XXIX. Do no evil thing. My mouth gives laws of every kind for the King. Make direct thy face before thee, lift up thyself like a man. O that thou mayest come to where I am without any laying information against thee. Slay not any man who approaches thee and whom thou hast favoured, for God knows him. He who flourishes on earth is one of them ; those who follow the King are gods. Make the love of thee to be among all the peoples. A generous (or, well-doing) character is held in remembrance . . . . . it was

said concerning thee the time of the feeble man is at an end. Thus said those who were dependants in the House of King Khat-ti when prophesying about him that was to come to-day. Behold, I have declared to thee the profitable things of my mind; make them to be firmly grounded before thee.

Colophon.

It (*i.e.*, the book) has gone out (*i.e.*, it is finished) in peace, as it was found in writing in the writing of Khāmuas for himself, the silent one of truth, of kindly nature, generous and a lover of men. He stood not in the eye (?) of another, he was not one given to scurrilous (or, blasphemous) abuse, he was the servant of his lord, a scribe who . . . . . , a man skilled in the craft of Thoth, the scribe Khāmuas, and for his brother whom he loved dearly, the silent one of truth, of kindly nature, a man skilled in the craft of Thoth, the scribe Maḥu.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ÂNTEF, THE SON OF SENT.

From his stele in the British Museum, No. 197 [581].[1]

"Ântef, the governor of the offices of the Government,[2] smells the ground (*i.e.*, does homage) before Khenti-Âmenti, and looks upon the beneficent deeds of Up-uatu. He says: Now as concerning this tomb which I have made in the mountain (*i.e.*, cemetery)[3] of Abydos, this region which is surrounded by walls, which was made in the beginning by Nebertcher,[4] a place profitable (or glorious) since the time of Osiris, a settlement of Horus for his Fathers, [the place] that the stars in the sky serve, [the place that is] the mistress of the *henmemet* beings, whereto come the great ones of Ṭeṭu (Mendes), the sister-site of Ânu (Heliopolis), [the place of] Horus-splendours, whereon rests Nebertcher—may offerings appear at the word here for the loyal servant, the governor of the offices of the Government, Ântef, the son of Sent.

[1] Published by Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, pl. 83; and Hall, H. R., *Hieroglyphic Texts*, Part II, pl. 23; and Moret, *La Profession*, p. 80.

[2] The equivalent of the Mudirîyah of our days.

[3] To this day the Egyptians call the region where the tombs are situated "gabal," *i.e.*, mountain.

[4] *I.e.*, "Lord to the uttermost limit," perhaps God or God Almighty.

1. I am a silent man before a raging man and before a fool, in order to suppress wrath.

2. I am cold (*i.e.*, calm, or cautious), without hasty impulses, knowing what circumstances may arise, understanding possibilities of failure.

3. I am a man who speaks in places where violence is applied, and I know when, according to custom, it is right for me to show anger.

4. I am a long-suffering man. I pay heed to my name (or, reputation) ; it gives (?) [me] what is in my heart.

5. I am a man who collects [his facts or thoughts], returning to a matter, long-suffering (or, patient), silencing the weeper with happiness.

6. I am a man who has a bright (*i.e.*, pleasant) face for his subordinate, and who does good to the man who is like himself (*i.e.*, is in the same social position).

7. I am an impartial man in the house of his lord, knowing what will heal the man who is diseased in speech.

8. I am a man who is bright (*i.e.*, pleasant) of face, open-handed, a lord of food, without withdrawal of face [from any man].

9. I am a friend towards those who are in a lowly condition, and to the man who has nothing my true (or, just) dealing is sweet.

10. I am the food of the hungry man who has no possessions, and open-handed to the destitute.

11. I act as the man of knowledge for him that is ignorant, and I teach a man that which will be beneficial for him.

12. I am the impartial man in the house of the king, knowing that which is said in every court-house.

13. I am a man who hearkens, I hearken to Maāt (the Law, or the Truth), and, indeed, cause it to declare its message to my heart.

14. I am the peacemaker of the house of his lord, being remembered by reason of his amiable qualities.

15. I am a good one in the courts when cases are being tried, equable of mind, free from words (or, acts) that irritate.

16. I am a good man, not acting hastily, not coercing a man because of an utterance [of his].

17. I am a man of justice, like the scales, impartial, true like Thoth.

18. I am a man firm of foot, whose design is well thought out, who prepares the way for the man who would make him to prosper.

19. I am a man who recognizes the man who can teach him, and the man who will allow him to discuss a matter with him.

20. I am a man who speaks in the Court of Law (or, Truth), who sets (literally, sharpens) his mouth against the restrictions of the mind."

Another stele[1] from the tomb of Ântef, the son of Sent, is dated in the thirty-ninth year of Usertsen I, and after the usual prayer to Osiris, "Lord of Ṭeṭu (Mendes), Khenti-Âmenti, the great god, Lord of Abydos," for sepulchral offerings, the text goes on to supply further information about the position and duties of Ântef. According to this, Ântef led the chiefs of the Land of the South, and made them do homage on their bellies in the Court of the hereditary prince and Wazîr. Then he set them at the head of some ceremony of truth-speaking before the judges who tried cases, and seems to have assigned places to them, with due regard to their rank, in the Council Chamber. He was President of the Works in the Land of the South, and he was well acquainted with the laws and he instructed his officials how to apply them. Many of the statements that he makes about himself are, to me, untranslatable, but the general meaning seems to be that which he has expressed in the twenty lines given above. He was beloved by all the royal court officials, he enjoyed the reputation of being a just and a learned man, he pursued his course without hesitation, he "heard the word in the White House of Geb," etc. Hitherto the inscriptions of Ântef have dealt with his official philosophy, and have left his moral actions unmentioned. On a third stele of his in the British Museum (No. 141 [562]),[2] he says: "I set goodness (or, prosperity) under my house, love for me went throughout the whole country . . . . I gave bread to the hungry, beer to the thirsty, and I set the

[1] British Museum, Stele No. 140 [572]. Published in Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, I, pl. 80; Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, Part II, pl. 22; Piehl, *Inscriptions*, Part III, pll. 12 ff.

[2] For the text see Sharpe, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, II, pl. 84; and Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts*, Part II, pl. 24.

shipwrecked man on his way . . . . I buried the aged, I clothed the naked, I committed no sin against men [and none] that God hates. I performed (or, I applied) the Law which is beloved of the King. I have come to my city, and entered my home. I have done that which men and women love, and the things that are approved of by the gods. The Majesty of the King of the South and the North, Kheperkarā, Son of Rā, Usertsen, the everliving, has set me among his princes."

THE TEACHING OF SEḤETEPÀBRĀ,[1] AN OVERSEER OF ÀMENEMḤAT III.

THE BEGINNING OF THE TEACHING which he (*i.e.*, Seḥetepàbrā) composed for his children :—

I will speak that which is great. I will make you hear, I will make you to understand a scheme of life which will be enduring, which will make to flourish the life that is real, and enable [you] to bring your life to an end in peace.

Praise ye the King of the South, ENMAĀTRĀ the everliving, in the interior of your bodies. Make ye a league with His Majesty in your hearts. He is the god Sàa[2] (*i.e.*, the god who knows all things), who is in your hearts (or breasts).

His two eyes search through the reins of every man.

He is Rā, by means of whose rays [everything] is seen.

He lights up the Two Lands (*i.e.*, Egypt) with a light greater than that of Àten (the solar Disk).

He makes the land burst into a green colour with vegetation more than does a great Ḥāp (the Nile). He inundates the Two Lands with the strength of life. He makes cool the nostrils [when] he sets out to fight (or do battle) ; he is appeased with

[1] The hieroglyphic text will be found in Mariette, *Abydos*, II, Pl. 25, but a better edition of the text will be found in Piehl, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques recueillies en Égypte*, III[ème] Série, Leipzig, 1895, Pll. VI and VII, lines 8–20.

[2] Sàa, the "knowing one," is a well-known title of Thoth.

offerings of . . . . . He is the giver of food to those who are in his following. He fills with rich food those who make firm his path.

The King of the South is himself food, his mouth itself is abundance.

It is he who made (or, makes) to come into being his existence (*i.e.*, he is self-subsistent).

He is Khnemu, the god who fashions the bodies of all men.

He is the Lord of generation, who makes men and women to come into being.

He is Bastt, the guardian Lady of the Two Lands (*i.e.*, Egypt).

His arm shall avoid the man who prays to him.

He is the goddess Sekhet (Sekhmit) to him who breaks his decree ; he is hostile to the . . . . . .

Do battle for his name, purify yourselves by swearing by his life ; [then] shall ye be free from a period of destitution (or, nakedness).

He who enjoys the favour of the King shall be revered.

There is no tomb allotted to the man who rebels against His Majesty; on the contrary, his body shall be cast into the stream.

Do these things and your bodies shall be strong and healthy, and they shall prove of benefit to you for ever and ever.

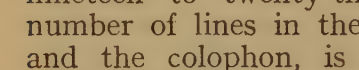
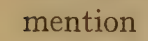
THE TEACHING OF ÀMEN-EM-ÀPT.[1]

Translated from Brit. Mus. Papyrus No. 10,474.

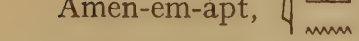
The Papyrus.

Papyrus No. 10,474 is about 12 ft. 1½ ins. in length, and its greatest width is about 10 ins. It is tolerably coarse in texture, and in places the strips from the papyrus stalk are not well gummed, and when found the roll was thicker at one end than at the other, and the lower end was covered with clots of bitumen. After many attempts the bitumen was removed, but the unrolling presented some difficulty. When this was overcome, and the papyrus was unrolled inch by inch, it lay fan-shaped, for the upper margin was stretched and the lower margin was contracted, and in a few places, chiefly at the beginning of the text, the papyrus crumbled into coarse dust. One side of the papyrus is covered with twenty-eight columns of text, including the colophon (consisting of one line standing by itself), which are written in small, clear, though, in places, somewhat cursive, hieratic characters. The twenty-seven columns of text contain a copy of a work entitled "Teaching concerning Life," which was composed by Àmen-em-àpt, the son of Ka-Nekht. In places the scribe crowded his words together, and the characters are ill-formed and difficult to transcribe. The copyist was one Shennu, , the son of Pamai (?), a Divine Father. The general style of

[1] This name was probably pronounced Àmen-em-àp.

the writing suggests that this copy of Àmen-em-àpt's "Teaching" was made under the XXth or XXIst dynasty. A column of text contains from nineteen to twenty-three lines, and the total number of lines in the work, including the title and the colophon, is 551. The title and the number of the chapters and two or three lines are written in red ink. On the reverse of the papyrus are forty-nine lines of hieratic text, very badly written in a large, coarse hand by an unskilled scribe. The first line of Column 1, which is in red ink, contains the title of the work that the scribe was copying for practice, and reads:  , "Beginning of the Teaching in solving problems of the heart (or, mind)." Its author bore the name of Àmen-em-àpt, and the lines here given may be an extract from another work by his namesake, the son of Ka-Nekht, mentioned above. Some of the lines seem to be of a poetical character, for mention is made in them of the MOON-GOD ÀĀḤU,  , ORION, SAḤU, , and the GREAT BEAR, MESKHETI, .

ÀMEN-EM-ÀPT, HIS GENEALOGY AND OFFICES.

Amen-em-àpt,  , was the son of Ka-Nekht, , who appears to have been a dweller in or native of Nifur, a quarter of the great town of Abydos. From line 43 it seems that Ka-Nekht was a Buai, (a chieftain or nobleman),

and magistrate and member of the Town Council of Âpu (Panopolis), the Akhmîm of the Arabs. He held many priestly offices in connection with the cult and temple of Menti (or, Menu), and Horus. The mother of Âmen-em-âpt was called Ta-Usrit,[1] , and she was the chief sistrum-bearer, "Sekhmit," , of the god Shu and his consort Tefnut. In addition to this she was Directress of the College of Horus, not Horus the son of Isis, but either Horus the Aged (Aroeris), the oldest god of the day in Egypt, who fought and defeated Set, the god of the night, or Ḥer-Âakhuti (Horus of the Two Horizons). Shu and Tefnut, according to ancient Egyptian mythology, were emanations of Rā, the great Sun-god in his strength, and they formed with Rā the first triad, or trinity, which the Egyptian mind in the Dynastic Period conceived. They were also the first of the four pairs of gods who, with Rā, formed the Great Company of the Nine Gods of Heliopolis. Horus and his numerous forms were adored in very early times at Heliopolis, and thus we see that Ta-Usrit the sistrum-bearer was, at any rate officially, a servant of the old solar gods of Heliopolis. Âmen-em-âpt probably grew up under her care, and absorbed her views, for, as will be seen from his "Teaching," he was a devout worshipper of Rā and the old solar gods of Heliopolis.

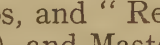
When Âmen-em-âpt lived, and under which king he flourished, cannot be said, but it seems highly probable that he was born during the reign of one of the kings of the XVIIIth dynasty. In

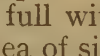
[1] If lines 43–45 refer to Ka-Nekht, Ta-Usrit must have been Âmen-em-âpt's grandmother.

line 16 of his "Teaching" he refers to "his Lord," in line 18 to "His Majesty," and in line 20 to "the King," but from first to last there is in it nothing to indicate who the Lord, or Majesty, or King was. The fact that the name of Âmen, the king of the gods, forms part of our author's name, suggests that the cult of this god was predominant when he was born, but it is quite clear that he was no follower of Âmen, and no admirer of his cult, for, except as a component part of his name, Âmen is neither mentioned nor referred to in the "Teaching." On the other hand, it is pretty clear that when Âmen-em-âpt composed his "Teaching" Âmen had not reached the exalted position of "King of the Gods," which he attained as the result of the conquests of Thothmes III in the Sûdân and Western Asia. I would therefore assign the "Teaching" to the first half of the period of the XVIIIth dynasty, probably soon after Âmenḥetep I had rebuilt the temple of Âmen in the Northern Âp (Karnak), and established and endowed the Priesthood of Âmen.

From line 13 ff. we learn what offices Âmen-em-âpt filled, and the titles of these afford some clue to the social position of his family. His father was, as we have seen, a "nobleman," or, as we should say, a magistrate, and therefore a man of means, perhaps even of wealth, and his son would be brought up in much the same way as the sons of the wealthy Fallâḥîn, or gentlemen-farmers, of Bani Suwêf, the Fayyûm, and Middle Egypt were brought up until two or three generations ago. It is quite clear from the language of the "Teaching" that Âmen-em-âpt was not only a clever but a diligent pupil, and that he studied the best examples of literature of Egypt to good purpose. His mother's position as priestess would

secure for him the help and friendship of the temple authorities, and from them he would learn the religion and mythology of his country. There was no need for him to earn his living by manual labour, and he became a skilled writer as well as reader. But he was not a "royal scribe," or "King's Scribe," either real or titular. He employed his abilities in connection with the great grain-producing lands which lay and still lie between Akhmîm and Balyanah (Abydos), and if we may believe his own naïve statement, he was highly skilled and experienced in his profession (line 13). His chief office was that of "Grain scribe of Ta-merâ" (Upper and Lower Egypt). He was overseer of all the crops in his district; he controlled the grain that was due to the god and the king; he was Registrary of the Department of Agriculture; he had charge of the endowments of grain that were bequeathed by pious benefactors for the maintenance of the funerary offerings to the Âakhû, or Ancestral Spirits; and he was the regulator of the grain traffic in every part of his district. Not only did he control the produce of the harvests, but he directed the management of the corn-lands and superintended the letting of the farms to peasant farmers, and naturally would select the tenants for the farms on the royal estates, and on the property of the temples, and the lands belonging to the Department of Religious Endowments, or pious bequests, like the Awḳâf, اوقاف, of the Muḥammadans.

He was also the GER MAĀ,  , of This and Nifur, near Abydos, and "Reporter" of the town of Âpu (Panopolis), and Master of the necropolis there, and he held a third office at Abydos. What is meant by "Ger Maā" is

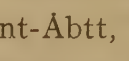
difficult to say. As words, "Ger" means "silent one," and "Maā" means "true" or "real," and adopting these meanings, we get "the real Ger," *i.e.*, the "real silent one." But it is probable that "Ger" has some very special meaning, probably of a religious character, which Egyptologists have so far failed to discover.[1] The words occur again in line 102, where they undoubtedly seem to mean "a man who is truly a religious man who knows how to hold his peace." In line 121 we have "Every *Ger* of the house of the god"; and in line 184 it is said, "the boat of the Ger sails along with fair winds." In lines 433 and 458,  certainly means "silence," and it is quite clear that the writer regards "silence" as a form of worship.[2] In line 123 Âmen-em-âpt says, "Fill thyself full with silence, thou shalt find the life." The idea of silence and repose which underlies "Ger" seems to me to be that of RESIGNATION, or SUBMISSION, and if this be so, "Ger Maā" means "the man who is truly resigned," to God's guiding hand of course, and is prepared to obey Him. The doctrine of the "Ger," then, is submission and obedience, and finds its exact counterpart in the *Islâm* preached by Muḥammad and the Arabs two thousand years later. The fundamental idea of that Religion, like much else, came out of Egypt.

Now the lines that follow the name of Ka-Nekht, the father of Âmen-em-âpt, in line 30,

[1] See the remarks in Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 162, 206, 215; and in Moret's *La Profession de Foi d'un Magistrat sous la XII^e Dynastie* (in *Cinquantenaire*, Paris, 1921, p. 75).

[2] Compare the use of the Hebrew דּוּמִיָּה *dûmiyyâh*, silence, repose, still waiting, in Psalm xxxix, 3, and lxii, 2.

appear to be somewhat mixed. Line 32 reads, "His son," presumably Ka-Nekht's, "is the youngest of his children," and these words are followed by "Overseer of the mysteries of Menti (?) in the character of Ka-mut-f." Immediately after this line comes the statement, "He is the man of least account among his kinsfolk," and this line is followed by several priestly titles. We should expect line 34, "He is the man of least account among his relatives," to follow immediately after line 32, "His son is the youngest of his children," but they are separated by line 33, which gives the title of a priest of Menti (?). The priestly offices enumerated in line 33 ff. must have been held either by Ka-Nekht or his son Âmen-em-âpt, most probably by the former, for the latter can hardly have discharged them, considering how heavy his duties were as Director of Agriculture. Why lines 32 and 34 were inserted in the list of priestly offices cannot be stated with certainty, but they were probably added by Âmen-em-âpt himself in self-depreciation and in his character of the Ger Maā. The priestly offices of Ka-Nekht were as follows: 1. Inductor of Un-Nefer, *i.e.*, he led the procession when the image of this god was carried about. Un-Nefer was originally a form or name of the Sun-god, but under the New Empire the name was bestowed upon Osiris; it means "beautiful springer up" or "beautiful hastener," an appropriate title of the Sun-god. 2. Inductor of Horus upon the throne of his father. The Horus here referred to is not Horus the son of Isis and Osiris, but the old solar god of Heliopolis. Neither Isis nor Osiris is mentioned in the "Teaching" of Âmen-em-âpt. On the occasions when the statue of Horus was set upon the throne in his sanctuary Ka-Nekht directed the

proceedings. 3. Surveyor of the mother of the god. The god here referred to must be Menti (?) (Menu), whose mother, according to late texts, was Khent-Âbtt,  [1] She appears on a wall at Denderah in the form of a woman wearing on her head the disk and horns of the Cow-goddess Hathor, and is assisting at the ceremony of setting up the "ladder" before her son Menu. 4. Inspector of the black bulls, which were sacred to Menti and were kept at Panopolis for the sacrifices of the god. 5. Defender of Menti in his shrine. The cult of Menti, or Menu, was of Heliopolitan origin, and at a very early period this god was identified with Tem-Kheperâ and Rā, in their character of solar gods and gods of generation.

The Teaching of Âmen-em-âpt described.

Âmen-em-âpt divides his Teaching into Thirty Sections, or Chapters, which vary in length from a few lines to a column and a half on the papyrus. For convenience of reference these chapters have been broken up into one hundred and fourteen paragraphs, but in a few cases it is difficult to see exactly where the new paragraph begins.

The Teaching of Âmen-em-âpt is different from the Teaching of every other Egyptian sage known to us, and reveals an aspect of the religion and morality of the Egyptians that is wanting in all the other Moral Papyri. The Teaching of Ptaḥ-ḥetep, the Teaching of King Khati, the Teaching of Ani, the Teaching of Ṭuauf, etc., were all definitely written for the benefit of the sons of these sages, and were intended to teach them how to

[1] Brugsch, *Dict. Géog.*, p. 724.

achieve success in this world. But Âmen-em-âpt addresses his Teaching to no son, and though the wise rules of conduct which he lays down would benefit all classes of officials and secure promotion for them, one great object in writing seems to have been to teach a man how to live to God and to love his neighbour. Portions of his Teaching will be found in all the other Teachings known to us, but there are many which will be sought for in them in vain. His Teaching was essentially that of the Ger Maā, or man who was truly resigned to the Will of his God, and its object was to teach men to treat their fellow-men of every class with kindness and consideration, to have pity upon the widow and the orphan, to show charity to the destitute, and to help the man who was in need, or trouble or adversity. The language he uses is simple, and, though the exact meaning of many of the words is not at present known, and the words themselves are not to be found in the existing dictionaries, the general purport of them is clear. The style is free from the obscurities and imitations of archaic phraseology in which the earlier authors of moral works have indulged, and as a literary work the Teaching of Âmen-em-âpt will always hold a very high place among ancient Egyptian writings. We are here dealing with a document that is practically complete, and the text of which has suffered little if any corruption at the hands of copyists. The length of the text adds to its importance, for no other document of its class now known contains so many unmutilated lines. The style of the document is that of the apophthegm, which rules supreme in the Moral Papyri. The oldest examples of its use outside Egypt are found in Babylonia and Syria, that is to say, in the texts on Babylonian tablets and in the Book of the

Proverbs of Solomon and in Ecclesiastes. Âmen-em-âpt, like Solomon, uses both metaphor and simile freely, but the Babylonian relied chiefly on simile[1] to enforce his point. Âmen-em-âpt's metaphors are unusually interesting and are most original :— The boat of the Ger (*i.e.*, the silent righteous man) is safer to sail in than the boat of the sinner (line 184) ; a man's tongue gives orders on the boat of his life, but Nebertcher is the captain of it (line 387) ; row thy boat lustily to save the man who is on a wrong course (line 76) ; the very day stands still in horror of the evil man (line 227) ; the lying mischief-maker is a potter's wheel that is worked by the devil Tar, and he mixes together the stuff that destroys the minds of men (lines 230, 231) ; the scandal-monger destroys the skin (or, hair) of the god Shu, *i.e.*, he rends the sky and blackens heaven with his wickedness (line 236) ; his lips are date-syrup, his tongue is a deadly dagger (line 239), etc. Âmen-em-âpt's similes are numerous and uncommon[2] :—The fate of the man of iniquity is like that of the man cast out on a dyke (line 68) ; the noisy bully is like a raging wind and fire (line 89) ; riches fly away like geese (line 178) ; the scandal-monger is like a sullen whelp in a stable eyeing jealously the other dogs (line 232) ; he is like the blast of the desert sand-storm (line 235) ; the beak of the Ibis-god (Thoth)

[1] Compare " Giving is like loving, interest is like begetting a son " (Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom*, p. 78) ; " their counsels change like day and night " (*ibid.*, p. 42). In the following the simile is disguised, " Woman is a well, a slough, a ditch : woman is a sharp iron dagger which cuts into the neck of a man " (*ibid.*, pp. 75–77).

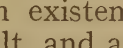
[2] On comparisons in Egyptian generally see Grapow, *Vergleiche und andere bildliche Ausdrücke im Aegyptischen*, Leipzig, 1920 (in *Der Alte Orient*, 21 Jahrgang).

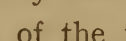
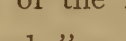
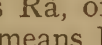
is the scribe's finger (line 321); the love of precious metal and the dancing girl is like a bond and fetter (line 344); the mind of a man is the nose of God (line 473), etc. The precepts are both positive and negative, the latter predominating throughout the work.

The system of religious morality which it reveals is of a very high character, and in many particulars closely resembles that which has hitherto been regarded as almost exclusively the property of ancient Semitic and Sumerian peoples. Parallels to some of its Precepts can be found in the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Proverbs of Solomon, and it is impossible not to wonder whether these at least are not due to some Asiatic influence which found its way into Egypt under the Middle Empire, or about the time of the rule of the Hyksos over Lower Egypt. The doctrines of the Ger Maā may have been in existence in Egypt when the Pyramids were built, and assuming that some of them are of Asiatic origin, they might well have been brought there by way of Heliopolis from Syria and Babylonia by caravan men. Whether this be so or not I cannot believe that they are of African, or native Egyptian, origin. From time immemorial Heliopolis was a cosmopolitan city, and a central desert mart where merchants of all nationalities exchanged not only material goods, but ideas and information.

The Teaching of Åmen-em-åpt may now be summarized.

God and Man's Duty to Him.

Throughout his Teaching Åmen-em-åpt speaks of God, , or the God,  , just as the Arabs speak of Allâh and Al-Allâh. To him

there was only one God, and we never find him making use of the form *neteru*  , or , or  "gods," as is the case in many Egyptian texts even when the One God is referred to. It may be argued that the god to whom he referred was Rā, or even Åten, the solar Disk, but when he means Rā he says so distinctly, as we may see from lines 496, 509, and 512. Rā was the god of material things, but God, of whom no similitude existed, was the Ruler of man's mind and destiny and his Judge. This God formulated plans,  , and a man must do nothing to disarrange them (line 418), or attempt to find out what his Will, , would keep hidden (line 419). God rests upon Maāt, *i.e.*, Truth, and Maāt is his chief support, that is, God is established or founded upon Truth (line 409). Maāt represented law and order in the physical world; Rā the Sun-god lived in and by it. In the spiritual world it stood for the right, truth of word and deed, justice and integrity. God hates the liar (line 254), and the man who holds converse with the liar and enjoys talk with him is an abomination to the God. God is kind and gracious, and his love is more to be praised and adored than the honour that is awarded by the magistrate, or President of the Town Council (line 525).

Imagine not that God does not concern himself with the affairs of men, for though a man mixes earth with water and makes bricks, and collects the straw, it is God who is the Architect, and it is he who throws down a wall or builds it up (lines 483, 484). With this may be compared: "Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that

build it" (Psalm cxxvii, 1). A man may think that he is directing the course of the boat of his life by his tongue, which he uses as a steering pole, but remember it is "Nebertcher (*i.e.*, the God of the Universe) who is the Captain" (lines 386-388).

Âmen-em-âpt thought that goodness and badness could not be considered in connection with God, for he writes: Say not that nothing abominable is permitted to exist, whilst at that very moment thou art seeking to stir up strife. If the abominable thing belonged to the God, He would set the seal of his finger upon it. There is no goodness in the hand (*i.e.*, action) of the God, because there is nothing abominable before Him. If He could bring Himself to seek after goodness as soon as the occasion for the exercise of it was passed He would destroy it" (lines 377–384). I know of no other example of an attempt to discuss the attributes of God in Egyptian papyri.

God is not separated from man by an impassable gulf, there is a connection between them, for "the heart (or, mind) of man is the nose of God" (line 473), and the life-breath of the heart of man is the life-breath of God's nostrils. Man is only safe and well-guarded when he places himself in "the hand of God" (line 253). If a man would be a Ger Maā, that is to say, one who can say with David, "Truly my soul waiteth (*i.e.*, is silent) upon God" (Psalm lxii, 1), he must repose wholly on God, and follow Âmen-em-âpt's direction given in line 431 and repeated in line 457: "Seat thyself on the arms of the God." The mention of the two arms of the God recalls the verse in Deut. xxxiii, 27, where the God of olden time is described as a refuge, and the "everlasting arms" are beneath ready to protect the refugee. The worship most acceptable to God is that of the Ger, the

resigned silent one, but to his silence he must add *ḥetbu*, , a word which must mean something like "prostrations," or "bowings down to the ground" (lines 431, 457). The Egyptians have in all periods made bowings to their gods, or God. The pre-Christian Egyptians "smelt the earth," *i.e.*, set their faces in the dust, before the Deity, the Christian ascetics boasted of the number of bowings which they performed in the course of the twenty-four hours of the day and night, and the Muḥammadans in Egypt are most scrupulous in making their bowings at their times of prayer. It is not sufficient for the Ger to be silent and resigned at one time and not at another, but he must "fill himself full of silence." The reward of the Ger who does this is great, for he "shall find the Life" (line 123) and "his members shall enjoy health and strength upon the earth" (line 124). The Life here alluded to is not the mere animal life, but the true life of the spiritual part of a man and of the soul, which directs its thoughts and aspirations to this unseen Neter, or God. By silence and resignation the soul finds wisdom and contentment, and the life that is based on the truth. Health of the soul produces health of the body, so that a man's gain is twofold. The same idea is expressed in the Book of Proverbs, where Wisdom claims that he who finds her finds life, as well as riches that are durable and honour and righteousness (Proverbs viii, 18, 35). And the Ger does good not only to himself, but to his neighbours, for the man who embarks in the boat of the robber suffers shipwreck, whilst he who sets out in the boat of the Ger sails easily with favouring winds behind him and reaches his destination (lines 182, 183). And to what may the Ger be

compared? "He is like unto a large tree by the wayside, with dense foliage, which is planted in rich ground. It bursts into blossom at its appointed time, during the fierce heats of summer it produces a twofold yield of fruit, and its position is under the eye of its lord, who rejoices therein. Its fruit is luscious, men find its shadow refreshing to rest in, and finally it is removed and transplanted into the garden of the God" (lines 102–107). This picturesque passage calls to mind the man who meditates day and night on the Law of God as described by David: "A tree planted by the rivers of water, that bringeth forth his fruit in his season; his leaf also shall not wither; and whatsoever he doeth shall prosper" (Psalm i, 3).

Throughout his Teaching Åmen-em-åpt expresses no opinion as to the future state of the Ger, and his views on this point are unknown. From lines 482–489, which describe God's direction of the affairs and lives of men, it is possible to conclude that he had no doubt about the existence of man after death, or about his passing into the care of God. Thus he says: "A man lives his hour of life; rejoice, be glad. It is He Who makes [a man] to arrive in Åmentt (*i.e.*, the grave, the Other World), where he is safe in the hand of the God." Åmen-em-åpt uses the very ancient word Åmentt[1] for the Other World, but nowhere does he speak of Osiris, the God and Judge of the Dead, the Prince of Åmentt, or the gods of his Company. He must have been well acquainted with the popular theology of Egypt, according to which the souls of the dead were weighed in the Great Scales under the supervision of Thoth and his Ape-god, for he mentions Thoth in line 321, and the Ape-god

[1] *I.e.*, the country of the dead on the *west* bank of the Nile.

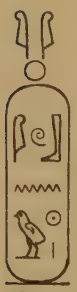
in lines 323 and 336. Furthermore, he must have known the belief which was current in his day that all those whose hearts had been weighed by Thoth, and were declared by him to be *maā kheru*, , ("true of word," *i.e.*, speaker of the truth), passed into the kingdom of Osiris, where they lived a life that was a glorified copy of their life upon earth. It seems quite clear that Åmen-em-åpt did not accept such views, either because they were opposed to the teachings of Heliopolitan theology, or because he considered them foolish or contemptible. In his Teaching he mentions Rā (lines 496, 509, 512), Shu (line 236), Khnemu-Rā (line 229), Thoth (line 321), Uben (line 353), Nebertcher (line 188), Åṭen (lines 185, 510), and Åāhu (lines 75, 133), and all these were Heliopolitan gods; Åmen-em-åpt found the recognition of these to be compatible with his belief in Neter, or God. As he rejected Osiris, he must also have rejected the multitude of fiends, devils, and monsters that we find mentioned in the Book of Åmmi Ṭuat, the Book of Gates, and the Heliopolitan, Theban, and Saite Recensions of the Book of the Dead. Nevertheless, for purposes of argument, he mentions two devils, in the existence of whom he can hardly have believed, namely, Āpep, or Āpepi, and Tar (lines 193, 230).

Of the Heliopolitan gods referred to above, Rā, Khnemu-Rā, Shu, Åṭen and Uben, or Ubni, were forms of the Sun-god, Åāḥu was the Moon-god with whom Thoth was closely associated. Nebertcher[1] is a title given to all the ancient solar gods,

[1] This name survives in Coptic under the form of ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲛ̀ⲧⲏⲣϥ̄, "the Lord of the All," and is found in a Homily by Theophilus (ed. Budge, *Coptic Homilies*, p. 73).

The dog-headed Ape of Thoth, presenting to Thoth, who here is represented in the character of the Moon-god, the Eye of the god which was seized and carried off by Set, and was recovered by the Ape-god. From the Papyrus of Nu (Brit. Mus. No. 10,477).

and in early times no special form seems to have been assigned to him. Uben, or Ubni, is a very ancient name of the Sun-god, and means "he who thrusts himself up [into the sky]"; in the Pyramid Texts he is called "Great Ubni."[1] The cult of this form of the Sun-god must have been popular in Syria as well as in Egypt, for, joined to the name of Shu, we find it on one of the ivories from Nimrûd,[2] within a cartouche, as here given. The cutting of the hieroglyphs proves that the carver of them was not an Egyptian, for they lack the characteristic touches.

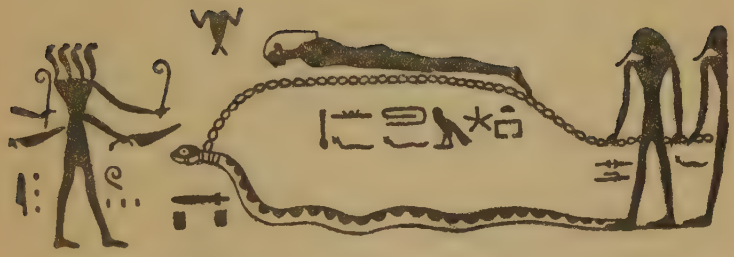

Shu Ubenu.

As regards the devils Āpep and Tar, of the latter little is known (see page 158). The former was the personification of all evil, both physical and moral. Popular tradition assigned to Āpep (the Apophis of the Greeks and Copts) the form of a monster crocodile, which lay in wait in the thick blackness of night to swallow up the sun when he rose in the sky. He was the creator of storms and *habûbs*, rain, hail, thunder and lightning, and disorder in general. With a view of destroying his malign influence and evil deeds the priests composed a work which they recited at certain times on certain days. This work, which was called "The Book of Overthrowing Āpepi,"[3] contained several chapters, and during their recital figures of Āpep made of wax, or written in green ink on papyrus, were burnt

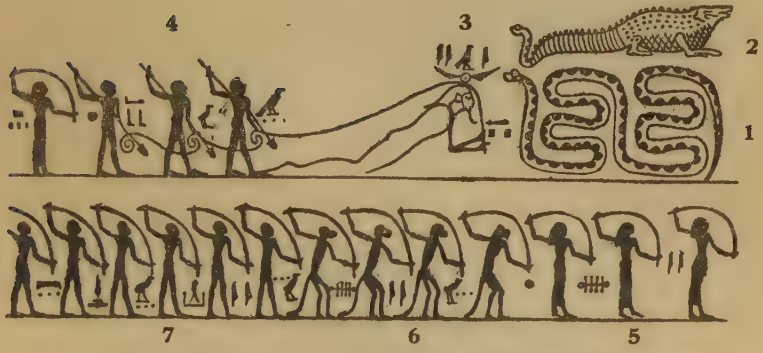
[1] , M. 754, P. 744. The form is found in N. 705.

[2] This ivory is exhibited in the Babylonian Room in the British Museum, Table Case I.

[3] For a facsimile of the hieratic text and a hieroglyphic transcript and translation, see *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, ed. Budge, First Series, London, 1910 fol.



Āpep, whose voice goes round about the Ṭuat, fettered by a chain which is held by sixteen gods. The figure with four Serpents' heads and holding a knife and an instrument of torture is one of the four Àntiu gods who protect Rā. The figure lying along the chain is that of the Scorpion-goddess Serqit.
From the Sarcophagus of Seti I in Sir John Soane's Museum.



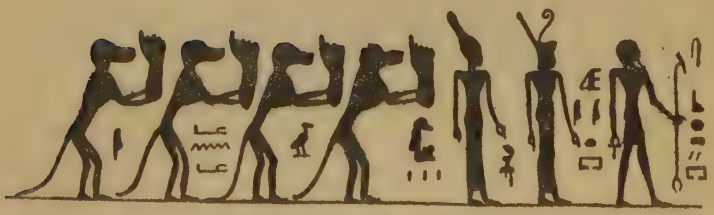
The serpent Āpep (1) and the monster crocodile Shesshes (2) waiting to attack and destroy Rā. The defenders of Rā are the Ass-god Àai (3), three gods with harpoons (4), four goddesses (5), four apes (6), and six gods (7) who hold nets made of knotted cords with which they weave spells to destroy Àpep.
From the Sarcophagus of Seti I in Sir John Soane's Museum.

Āpep chained to the earth by chains fastened to him by the Four Sons of Horus.

From the Sarcophagus of Seti I in Sir John Soane's Museum.

The "Hidden Hand" grasping the chain by which Āpep is fettered. The four figures lying along the chain are the Four Sons of Horus, each of whom holds by a chain one of the four monster serpents who were the sons of Āpep. Behind them stands Osiris.

From the Sarcophagus of Seti I in Sir John Soane's Museum.



The Four Ape-gods, holding models of the Great Hand with which they fashion the Disk of the Sun-god.

From the Sarcophagus of Seti I in Sir John Soane's Museum.

ceremonially in sacred fire. Filth was heaped upon these figures, and they were trodden into shapeless masses, and spat upon by the officiating priests before they were finally destroyed by fire. When Åmen-em-åpt says: "Spit upon Āpep" (line 193), he is merely referring to the well-known magical rites described above.[1] In a similar way Åmen-em-åpt mentions the god Shai and his consort Renenit, who are commonly believed to represent Luck and Destiny, or Destiny and Fate (line 164). When he says: "Urge not thyself to find out for thyself the Will of God, do not Shai and Renenit exist?" (lines 419, 420), all he means to say is: Seek not to pry into God's intentions as regards thyself, for are not thy luck and destiny already decided? The God has apportioned thee thy lot and thy fate is decreed, why trouble thyself further? Or, Thou hast already thy lot, and thy end is, as the Arabs would say, MAKTÛB, "written."

To his cult of silence and his prostrations the Ger added prayer, but it is an interesting fact that he did not address his petition to God, but to the Åṭen, or visible symbol of Rā, the Sun-god. Thus Åmen-em-åpt says: "Make thou the prayer which it is thy duty to make to the Åṭen when he is shooting up in the sky. Say: Grant to me strength and health. He will give to thee the things necessary for the life" (lines 185-187). Thus the

[1] The following extract from a rubric explains Åmen-em-åpt's allusion:—Say this Chapter over a figure of Āpep drawn in green paint upon a new piece of papyrus, in which is wrapped a wax figure of Āpep with his name cut into it in green colour. Put these in the fire, and burn them, and collect the ashes; pour filth upon them, and stamp on them with thy left foot, and put them into a fire, and spit upon them many, many times each hour.

Âṭen is the giver of health, and strength, and meat and drink, and raiment, in other words, all man's material wants were, according to this passage, supplied by the god of the solar Disk, who shared with Rā the lordship of the physical world.

Two passages in his Teaching prove that Âmen-em-âpt admired the works of God as displayed in His visible creation, although he coupled them with the gods Rā and Âṭen. Thus, when he looked upon the Nile-flood and saw its waters at the entrances of the canals and irrigation basins, and watched the crocodiles showing themselves as they rose from the sand, and the hippopotami disporting themselves in the sun, and the fish leaping, and the wolves (dogs?) filled with food, and the geese [happy] in the field (or, keeping festival), and restraint relaxed (?), every Ger of the house of the god must say: Great is the praise (or, graciousness) of Rā (lines 116–122). We may note in passing that hippopotami must have been common in Middle Egypt in the days of Âmen-em-âpt. The beauty of the dawn and the sunrise were other phases of nature that greatly impressed Âmen-em-âpt, who was clearly a man who did most of his work in the early hours of the day. He says: Lie not in bed when the dawn is breaking. What can be compared with the dawn for beauty? What kind of a man is he who has not seen the dawn? Whilst the lie-a-bed is slumbering the God is performing his gracious works. Consider: On the one hand we see the paltry affairs of men, and on the other the works of the God [in the heavens] (lines 370–376). Time is precious. If a man says to-day and to-morrow are the same, what will the result be? To-day is here, to-morrow has yet to come (lines 113–115). Waste not in slumber the early hours of the day (line 431).

Summary of Âmen-em-âpt's Teaching.

Plunder not the poor man and "squeeze" not the destitute. Assume not the manner of a nobleman, and pass the aged man by unnoticed. Despatch not a friend on a mission of danger. Hurt not a man when thou canst explain thyself. As for the evildoer, make no attempt to punish him, for he will punish himself. He is like the man who is cast out on the dyke. The waters will rise and envelop him, the winds will blow him hither and thither as he lies in the raging waters, storms will beat upon him, and finally the crocodiles will find him and devour him (lines 68–72).

What is the fiery, hot-headed, aggressive man like? He is always shrieking out curses and imprecations, and his voice which rises to heaven is so terrifying that Âāḥu, the Moon-god, stands still in horror of him (lines 73–75). Have nothing to do with him, run away before him, and leave him to the hands of the God, who will know how to requite him. Bear this in mind and thou shalt live to see thy children's children (lines 90–94). How shall this man when he is in the god's house be described? He is like a large, leafy tree planted in a courtyard, [but there being no water there] its leaves wither, its fruit fails to ripen and drops off. Finally it is removed, and a flame of fire is its winding-sheet (*i.e.*, it is burnt) (lines 96–101). The chattering fool is a raging wind, and he is like a destroying fire among the reeds (line 89). (Compare the "crackling of thorns under a pot," in Eccles. vii, 6.)

When we see the wicked man steering a wrong course, we must get out our oars, and row him to a place of safety, for may we not ourselves become like him? Set him on his feet, help him willingly,

commit him to the hands of the God, provide him with meat and drink, for perhaps it is the intention of the God to give him another opportunity (lines 76–82).

In the performance of thy duties take care not to encroach on the estates of the temples, and do nothing in connection with them for thy individual profit. Moreover, withdraw not a temple-servant from his duty in order to work for some other man's benefit (lines 109–112). Remove no land-mark, break not down any boundary, and avoid all encroachments on lands set apart for the endowments of tombs (lines 126, 142, 145). Fail in any of these things and terrible calamity will befall thee (line 143). And in verifying the estate of the widow do not filch away any of her land through the cubit of the fields (line 129). The man who cheats in land is snared in the counsels of iniquity, and the Will of the Moon-god shall fetter him (*i.e.*, make him go mad ?). Observe what he does. He robs the helpless man in a shameless fashion. He is thy enemy, and a man's life is snatched away by a mere glance of his eye, and his house is a menace to the town. But his sons and daughters shall never inherit his property, and his possessions shall be given to another (lines 130–141).

As for thee, drive not thy furrows through the [unploughed or neglected] fields of another man, for the well-being that comes from thine own furrows is better for thee. Plough the fields that thou knowest to be thine own property, and get thy bread from the treasure-house of thy body (lines 148–151). Six feet of land that God has given thee are better than thirty thousand that thou hast acquired by fraud (lines 152, 153). Treat thyself well, and make thy body strong and

happy, but remember not to do that for which Nebertcher, *i.e.*, the All-Lord, will hold thee responsible (lines 146, 147).

Avoid over-eating, wine-bibbing, and gluttony; which waste time, destroy the mind, and bring sickness to the body. About these vices Åmen-em-åpt says: Spend not the hours of the day in cookshops and taverns, and sit not down in them and drink pot after pot of beer, for those who spend their days in this wise become merely masses of food (lines 154–157). Even if thou art hungry and wishest to eat, lust not like a greedy beast for the dainty, spiced meats of the rich man who loves such meats. For the rich meats of the glutton produce a storm of wind in the stomach, and the bowels eject them. They turn the upright man into a wrongdoer, and his sense (or, understanding) departs from his body. Thus, inasmuch as the evil nature of man corrupts inclination for well-doing, the evil destroys the good [in him] (lines 257–264). When thou hast swallowed a mouthful of a nobleman's food thou shalt vomit it, and thus thy body will be emptied of the dainty [which thou hast coveted] (lines 269, 270). Because a great man offers thee food without stint, eat not of it greedily. If he gives it to thee so that thou mayest help him to get richer, reject it and eat thine own food (lines 280–283). Eat not bread with the magistrate, and thrust not forward thy mouth. If thou fillest thyself with the rich meats of the wicked man they will depart with thy vomit (lines 462, 463). Keep thine eyes on the platter that is before thee, and make it to satisfy all thy cravings (lines 464, 465). Do not accustom thyself to sit in the beer-house (line 491). Hasten not to follow the worship of the wine-cup, for it will double the courage of thine adversaries (lines 523, 524).

And now observe the foresight of the glutton. He himself collects the staves of the hunting nets. He makes all his servants to help in the hunt, and he keeps a strong man to kill the beasts in his slaughter-house. Keep away from him, and watch him and refuse his gifts (lines 271–278).

Be not avaricious, and covet not riches. Hanker not after the things that riches give, for Shai, the god who has given thee thy lot in life, and Renenit, the goddess of thy fate, know what is best for thee (lines 163, 164). Seek not for more than thou hast (line 167). Remember that if thou hast heaped up treasures which thou hast obtained by foul means, they will not remain with thee for a night, and on the following morning they will not be in thy house. Men will look at the place where they were, and most assuredly they will not find them, for they will have swallowed themselves up. [What has become of them?] Either the earth has opened its mouth and swallowed them up straightway, and they have sunk down into the deepest depth of Hell; or they have become a heap of broken fragments, which are covered by rust; or they have been mixed up with rubbish on the dust-heap; or they have made wings for themselves like the geese, and have spread them out, and flown away in the sky (lines 169–178). Take not pleasure in stolen treasures and at the same time pretend to be grieved for the victims of the robbery (lines 179, 180).

Âmen-em-âpt warns us against the danger of the malicious scandal-monger and says: "The gossip of this man is swifter to hurt than the blast that precedes the storm. He tears down [reputations], or builds them up with his tongue. His strings of words carry destruction with them. His statements merit chastisement, for their object is to

injure. Like other folk he uses a boat, but he loads it with lies. He acts as ferryman to him that snares men in a net of words. Whether going or coming he continues to gossip, and when he is eating or drinking, even in his own house, he goes on talking about other people's affairs. The day itself stands still and accuses him. His sons and daughters lament that they are his children. Khnem-Rā [who fashioned his body, and is ashamed of what he has made] proceeds to attack him. He is the potter's wheel which the devil Tar uses, and he mixes together and makes the material that destroys the minds of men. He is like a surly whelp in the stable which watches with hate and jealousy the doings of his companion. He sets people against each other by his scandal-mongering. He goes before every wind like the blast that precedes the hurricane and the sandstorm in the desert, [and like it] he destroys the skin of Shu (*i.e.*, hides the sun and the sky by his clouds of scandalous lies]. He twists his tail like the crocodile and makes it ready for the sweep which is fatal for his victim. His lips are [as sweet as] the syrup of the date palm, but his tongue is a deadly dagger, and a consuming fire blazes in his belly[1] (lines 215–240).

[Be content with thy lot.] It is better to be the beggar who is in the hand of the God than the rich man in a comfortable house (lines 158, 159). Better are bread-cakes made of flour and water with a loving heart than rich meats with bickering and enmity" (lines 160, 161, 305, 306). Compare "Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith (Proverbs xv, 17).

[1] Compare: *The words* of his mouth were smoother than butter, but war was in his heart: his words were softer than oil, yet were they drawn swords. Psalm lv, 21.

Better is a dry morsel, and quietness therewith, than an house full of good cheer with strife" (Proverbs xvii, 1).

Concerning a man's behaviour towards his neighbours Âmen-em-âpt says: "Be generous to the people, and every one will applaud thee (lines 190, 191). Show kindness to people of lowly condition (line 195). Make no innovation that will harm the people (line 200). Hide the matter of the fugitive (runaway slave who seeks protection? line 201). If by chance thou discoverest that a man is engaged on a dangerous mission, speak not about it; help him on his way and let him come back (lines 288, 289). If thou findest treasure that has been hidden (buried?) in the hands of a poor man, divide it into three portions; keep one-third thyself and let him keep two-thirds (lines 297–299). When a man offers thee a gift do not browbeat him, eye him not with displeasure, turn not away thy face, salute him cordially and speak to him comfortably, and he will come again (lines 308–317). When thou seest a man stumble (or, going astray) go with him and help him on his way (lines 342, 343). Call not a fellow townsman who happens to be a wrong-doer a 'chief of robbers,' and because a man is thy personal enemy brand him not as a sedition-monger (lines 426–429). Do nothing that will make the blind man a laughing-stock to his neighbours. Moreover, mock not the dwarf because of his form and colour, and interfere not in the affairs of the man with a physical defect to injure him. When a man is in trouble or suffering some affliction, do not praise to him the man who has caused his calamity (lines 478–481). Even if thou hast a dislike for a man show thyself friendly to him (line 495). Give thy arm to the old man who is drunk, and pay respect to him in

Thoth, ibis-headed, acting as scribe to Rā.

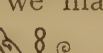
From the Papyrus of Nesitanebtashru in the British Museum (ed. Budge, London, 1912, Plate LXVIII).

the presence of his family (lines 499, 500). Crush not the poor man who has said something that is good, letting the rich man who has only uttered windy platitudes go unrebuked" (lines 503, 504).

In very definite words Åmen-em-åpt calls upon the scribe to be both accurate and honest in his work. The scribe's finger is not a finger only, but the beak of the Ibis-god Thoth, the great divine scribe who presided over the weighing of the deeds and hearts of men at the Great Judgement. As we see from the vignette in the Book of the Dead, Thoth wrote down with accuracy the result of the weighing, which was personally supervised by the Ape-god, his assistant. Wherever the scribe may be, let him remember that the Ape-god, who dwells in Per-Khemenu (Hermopolis, the city of Thoth), is watching all Egypt, and will know when the scribe makes a mistake wilfully or accidentally. If the scribe continues to make mistakes, *i.e.*, to falsify his texts, the god will withdraw his emoluments, and his son will fail to obtain employment. "Bear these things in thy mind always," says Åmen-em-åpt, "and thou shalt see thy posterity" (lines 321–330).

In all transactions of barter or buying and selling, a man must be strictly honest. He must neither cheat with the weights nor with the grain measures. The Ape-god sits on the scales and his heart is the pointer; if thou givest light or short weight he will know at once, and thy punishment is certain. For as Thoth removes the scribe who renders false accounts, even so will God remove the man who makes the pointer of the scales to register falsely by the use of false weights. Every cunning device of the cheater will become known to the Ape-god, therefore do not obliterate the characters on the weights, and on the measures for grain,

which indicate weight and capacity. Another matter: The weights and measures in use in the country are different from the standard Government weights and measures in use in the city, therefore thou must not employ them too frequently in thy business transactions (lines 332–341). Be careful not to defraud the Utchat (literally the Eye of Rā), and remember that the god Uben is in the Utchat, and he is all-seeing. Give full weight, or measure, and register it correctly (lines 351–356).

Similarly, the transfer or purchase of land, and the measuring of fields, must be carried out with honesty. The measuring rod is called *Apt*, , and Brugsch thought that it was a cubit in length, but the Coptic ⲉⲡⲱⲧ, which is possibly its equivalent, was an orgyia in length, or about six feet. Amen-em-apt says: "Make not a land-measuring rod for thy use whereby thou canst measure with different results,[1] but do always the thing that is right (*i.e.*, measure accurately). The Apt measure is the Eye of Rā, which holds in abomination the man who robs and steals by making many mistakes when measuring [the land]. And the seal of the Eye of Rā is stamped on the Apt measure" (lines 357–362). In connection with this we may note that the mystic cord *ennuḥ*,  , which was used in the Ṭuat to measure the estates of the Aakhu, or Spirits, was inhabited by a god who did not allow those who

[1] I have seen in some parts of the Delta measuring rods with inner and outer sliding pieces, which I was told were dishonestly used by the *wakîls* of the Government when they were sent to measure fields and estates after the boundaries had been destroyed by the Inundation.

used the cord to cheat in their measurements.[1] And the registers of estates must not be tampered with in any way: "Thou shalt not undervalue property, for by so doing thou wilt falsify the rolls (line 295). Erase (?) (or, alter) nothing in the rolls for the benefit of the encroacher (line 320). Falsify not what is on the rolls, for thou wilt disarrange God's plans by so doing (line 417). And any addition made to the rolls is an abominable thing in the sight of God" (line 291).

To speak the truth and act with sincerity is the duty of every man. "Keep thy tongue from lying speech (line 194). Do not support one evil man with thy acts and another with thy tongue at the same time (line 293). Go not into the Town-Council before the Presiding Magistrate, or thou mayest be obliged to eat thy words. Do not get up and sit down continually during thy speech, for thy statements must justify themselves. Attempt not to coerce any nobleman's witness, for a [hasty] word uttered in the Council Chamber may lead to serious trouble. Speak the truth before the Magistrate, lest he arrest thee and imprison thee, and if thou dost appear before him early in the day, he will listen graciously to thy words. Say all thou hast to say, and be careful so that thou mayest return there. Do not permit any member of the Courts of Law to deliver a wrong judgement because thou hast hidden the truth; thou mayest keep thyself concealed, but he will as the result suffer (lines 390–406). Accept no gift from any man if thou art in return for it to commit an act of wrong against a poor man" (line 407).

[1] See Budge, *Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, vol. II. (Fifth Division of the Ṭuat.)

A man in his dealings with men should always give his countenance and support to the things that are good, or that tend to edification ; therefore let him " applaud the Serpent, or Goddess, and spit upon Āpep " (or Āpepi, *i.e.*, the Devil, line 192). Moreover, he should follow the religious customs of the people about him. " Take thy seat in the sanctuary of the house of the God, and present offerings on behalf of thy Lord. Make thyself to appear like one of the revered dead, and as if thou wast bandaged in thy coffin. Be strenuous in performing the Will of God (lines 198, 199). Hold no converse in the company of liars, for before God that is an abominable thing to do (line 248) ; God hates the frivolous liar " (line 254).

As regards thy duty to the superior officer, he says : " Guard well thy tongue when thou answerest thy chief, and take heed that thou dost not revile him. Thou must never let his speech catch thee like a lasso, and must uncoil it with thy answers. Discuss matters with him, and make thy replies humbly after the manner of a subordinate ; oppose him not " (lines 209–214). And again : " In the presence of thy chief make thyself as of no account. Address him respectfully, and the compliments which thou must pay him will turn aside his curses, and thy bowings to the ground before him will disarm his violence " (*i.e.*, save thee from a beating, lines 265–268). This advice must be intended to apply to the subordinate who has failed to perform his duty in some particular, and who must in consequence admit his fault, and strive to turn away his lord's anger by means of submission and adroit flattery.

In granting interviews to people an official must be both patient and courteous. Therefore," When

a man comes to discuss a matter with thee, do not try to close his mouth, but urge him to say fully all he wants to say. Do not attempt to break in upon his remarks because thou dost not see the point which he is trying to make. Think out before thou speakest what is the correct answer for thee to make, for if thou becomest heated (*i.e.*, losest thy temper) thy end comes. Let him go on talking and he will pour out his whole mind. When thou knowest his opinion he himself can be found (understood ?). Remove his legs (*i.e.*, excuses or supports), and he cannot work evil, and he will not behave in an underhand manner, being afraid" (lines 445–454).

The wise man will repeat nothing that he hears, whether it be good, bad, or indifferent, and Amen-em-apt says: "Whether thou hearest what is good or what is bad, treat the report thereof as no affair of thine, and hearken not to it. If thou must talk, I beseech thee to tell people only what is good upon the earth, and as for the reports of evil, hide them in the depth of thy heart (lines 202–205). Listen not to the conversation which the Magistrate may have with thee in his own house, and then go and repeat what he said to thee outside it. Even if thou canst not help bringing thy mouth with thee outside his house, it is not necessary for thee to pour out into the street all that is in thy mind. Now the mind of a man is the nose of God; take good heed, therefore, that thou doest it no injury. The man to whom thou repeatest the matter may be a powerful official, but he may also be a private person whose name is wholly unknown" (lines 470–476). In thy dealings with the Governor (or, Magistrate), remember that "although he may have the appearance of a nobleman, he may also resemble

the crocodiles in the water in rapacity and cruelty" (lines 466, 467).

The wise man must be careful about his personal dignity, and about the kind of men he makes friends with, and on these and similar matters Amen-em-âpt says: Make not a friend of the hot-headed, noisy man, even if thou must visit him for purposes of business (lines 207, 208). Let not this kind of man salute thee as a friend, especially if he is an opponent of thine, or thou wilt harm thyself (lines 244, 245). And do not salute him with cordial greetings because thou art afraid of him (lines 246, 247). Have no doubt when once thou hast spoken, and let all thy plans and acts be based on sound judgement (lines 250, 251). Be dignified in the presence of thy subordinates (line 252). Have no dealings with the hot-headed, noisy man, or thou wilt make thyself a friend of the wrong-doer (lines 284, 285). Do the thing which is right, and thou wilt attain to the [true] life (line 319). Think out thy plans seriously, concentrate thy mind, and be not guided by thy tongue only (lines 385, 386). Study to increase the possessions of wealthy men, but at the same time seek a living for thyself. Covet not the houses they live in, or thou mayest perish (lines 421–424). Obey not the calls of nature when people are about thee, for if thou dost, thou wilt destroy their respect for thy dignity (lines 436, 437). Chat not too freely with the peasants, or thou wilt become a companion of the sedition-monger (lines 438, 439). It is better for a man to keep his information to himself than to publish it abroad, when lies will be added to it (lines 440, 441). Hasten not to acquire a benefit, but act not in such a way as to lose it (lines 442, 443). Devote not thy mind to things that do not concern

thee (line 165). Seek for nothing more than thou already hast (line 167).

Give not orders to a man who is thy superior, whether he be thy junior in an official position, or senior by birth (lines 492–494). When thou meetest a man in the bazâr, follow him and salute him with respect (lines 497, 498). Curse not thy superior, for he will look at Rā, and make his report to Åṭen. For a man of the mob to curse a nobleman is an offence which Rā will not condone. It is far better that the man of the mob should strike thee and curse thee and that thou shouldst fold thy hands on thy breast and keep silent whilst he is doing it (lines 508–515). If thou visitest a man early in the day and he gives thee gifts generously, remember that if the things which he has acquired are derived from his lord's property they will consume the man to whom they are given (lines 516–519).

A man must not only avoid the laying up of treasure, but Åmen-em-åpt would have him avoid greed and avarice of every kind. He says: "Covet not precious metals, and hate the beautiful dancing woman."[1] The love of these things is a tie and a fetter to a man, and "it makes a man to err in the presence of the God." And the scraping together of riches is quite futile, "for if a man scrapes off a quantity (?) of gold from an object which is made of pure and refined gold, by day-break to-morrow morning it will be found to be lead" (lines 344–349).

[1] The hieratic character must, it seems, be transcribed by *shemā*, but it may be a mistake for *nub*; "covet neither ingots of precious metal nor music and the pretty dancer" probably represents the meaning of the lines.

The Egyptians have crossed the Nile by swimming, and on ferry-boats, rafts and floats, from time immemorial. Usually the ferry-boats were owned by private individuals, and every passenger had to pay his fare, but sometimes landed proprietors established ferry-boats for the use of their workmen and dependants, and though they maintained them, at the discretion of the ferryman strangers were allowed to cross the Nile in them. When a great official came to a privately owned ferry-boat, he entered it and seated himself comfortably, but Âmen-em-âpt says to the man who is in the habit of doing this: "Turn not away from the ferry the people who are waiting to cross the river, so that thou mayest stretch thyself at ease in the cabin." But the current may be strong and may carry the boat so far down the river that paddles have to be got out, and some of the passengers set to keep her from drifting. Âmen-em-âpt supposes such a case, and says: "If a paddle (*i.e.*, oar) be brought to thee when the ferry-boat is in mid-stream, take it and work it. Is not he who toils a happy man?" (lines 528–532). Line 533 reads: "There is nothing abominable in the hand—the God." May this mean, there is nothing abominable before God in manual labour? Continuing his words concerning the ferry-boat, Âmen-em-âpt says: "Establish not a ferry-boat on the river if thou art going to exact rigorously a fare from every person who uses it. Let the fares go to the man who works the ferry-boat, [for] he must gain a living, and be thou content to take no part of it" (lines 534–537).

Among the pithy Precepts in the Teaching with a characteristically Oriental flavour are: "If thou art sent to fetch straw take care to avoid the nettles (?) in it" (lines 286, 287). "Exact not the

summer grain from the peasant farmer, when if thou forcest him to pay what is due from him thou wilt ruin him. Make not thyself as unyielding as the measure, thou art assuming the mastery of his house. God's Will increases the grain in the store more than the Director of the High Court" (lines 363–368). "If the crocodile is going to lash out with his tail, cry out a warning, for even the papyrus plants hold him in fear" (lines 434, 435). "The man who is captain of his own boat watches its course and does not allow it to capsize" (lines 505, 506).

Lines 413 and 521 present difficulties. In the former the transcription of the word determined by is doubtful, and in the latter I do not understand the allusion. The widow referred to may be one of the old women who were held to be witches and lived in the fields, even as widows do in many parts of Africa at the present day. Natives in going through the fields where they are always avoid them if possible, because they are afraid of being cursed by them.

The Morality and Religion of Åmen-em-åpt.

A perusal of this Teaching will, I believe, convince the reader that it enshrines the highest system of morality ever taught or promulgated in Egypt, and that from the point of view of morality it deserves to rank with the Book of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. There are many passages in it that prove that Åmen-em-åpt was not only a highly moral, but also a religious man, and held the view that the best foundation for morality was religion. But his Teaching cannot be regarded as a work written to teach the Egyptians religion, for we see that such religious advice as he gives was only

intended to safeguard his high moral teaching. The purist among teachers of morality might even complain that he left unnoticed many breaches of the law, *e.g.*, murder, and adultery, and sexual immorality in general. He does not warn his readers against manslaughter and murder, and a man's relations with women, regular or irregular, are not mentioned. Ptaḥ-ḥetep advised his son to marry and beget a son, and to treat his wife well, but to avoid all other women, because a thousand men have destroyed themselves through the quest of their "shining limbs." Ani the scribe advised his son to marry, and to rear a son to succeed him, and warned him against the "strange woman," who was a deep water, the current of which would carry a man he knew not whither. Ani also impressed upon his son the necessity of treating his mother with affection and care. But Àmen-em-àpt says nothing about a man's right behaviour to the women of his family, and seems to assume that the man who was wise enough to follow his Teaching would need no advice on such private and domestic matters.

The opening lines of his Teaching tell us the real object of it. He writes, he says, the admonitions that will enable a man to maintain a "safe" position under all circumstances. They will help him to preserve his fair name, to keep his character unsullied, to move in good society, to be healthy in body, to be free from carking care, and to keep a firm hold on his possessions. Another class of admonitions is based upon the rules and regulations and sayings of generations of high officials, whose duties and social position gave them the right of free entry into the council chambers and private offices of Wazîrs, all of them being intended to teach the young official how to honour

his chiefs and at the same time to maintain his position with safety and dignity. In addition to these Âmen-em-âpt included a number of terse, shrewd, and highly treasured sayings of the officials who had been honoured by kings with the title of friends. All these admonitions would teach a man how to lead, not a religious life, but a life in which he would be able to hold his own among courtiers, officials, noblemen, and subordinates of many kinds, and how to treat ordinary folk with kindness sufficient to gain their goodwill, and at the same time to avoid undue familiarity and friendship with them. Many of his wise counsels must embody the results of his personal experience in dealing with men and affairs, and taken together they form a very remarkable collection of precepts.

Judging from the number of priestly offices which his father held, and from his own lucrative position as Controller of the grain of his district, Âmen-em-âpt must have been a man passing rich, but he inveighs against the heaping up of riches, and especially ill-gotten wealth. Riches easily acquired disappear no one knows where, therefore seek for nothing more than you have, and be content with that. Cultivate not the hunger for land, for a small parcel of land given by God is better than a large estate obtained by robbery. Âmen-em-âpt preached abstemiousness, and preferred dry bread and herbs with content to dainty meats where strife was. Frequent not the house of the glutton, because his meal may be a bribe. And besides, rich, highly spiced meats disturb the digestion and produce vomiting and colic and other evils in the body, and the dainty food is wasted. Avoid the bazârs where grilled and baked meats are sold, and also the beer shops. On the other hand, if an old man is overtaken by drink help him on his

way and see him home. Moreover, the official who spends his time in the cookshop and tavern ceases to be a man and becomes a mere mass of food. Over-eating and over-drinking do not pay, therefore avoid these vices. Waste not your time, especially the early hours of the day; thrice does Amen-em-apt give this advice. Choose your company, and avoid the sedition-monger and the scandal-monger; if you do not you will lose not only your character but your position, and you will have no means for rearing a family. Therefore avoid such men; it does not pay. Encroach not on sacrosanct property; any act of the kind is followed by calamity; it does not pay to rob the dead or God. Live not on the provisions of others, but be independent, and work for yourself, and eat the bread of your toil. Your lot is fixed, your end is known, it is useless to set your mind on things you cannot have; it does not pay. And mind your own business; every man will do as he pleases when he pleases. If you sail with a thief you will suffer shipwreck; it will pay you better to sail with a righteous man. Pray to Athen in the early morning and ask for health and strength, and he will give you everything you want; get into the habit of praying thus, for it will pay you. Always keep on the side of the angels and repudiate the Devil; it pays to do so. Give gifts to the people and be kind to them, and they will applaud you for your pity and benevolence; this will help you in your official career. Repeat not evil gossip; it causes trouble and never pays. Control your tongue in talking to your chief, or you may lose both your position and your prestige; it never pays to argue with him or oppose him. Hold not converse with sinners, for God hates the man who does so; it does not pay. Impress the people by

your weighty speech and dignified behaviour; it will tend to your promotion. Use the soft answer to turn away wrath; it pays to do so with your chief. Never alter the registers; it offends the God and will harm you.

The scribe who falsifies his copies will suffer. Men may not find him out, but the dog-headed Ape, who is an incarnation of Thoth, sits in Per-Khemenu (Hermopolis), watching on behalf of Thoth the heart and mind of Rā. His eye travels through all Egypt and sees everything, and notes every sin, and reports the sinner. It does not pay a scribe to falsify his copies, for the god will withdraw his help from him, and his son will fail to obtain employment. Similarly it does not pay to cheat with the weights and scales, for this same Ape sits on or by the Scales, and his heart acts as the pointer, and whether you set the scales awry, or sweat the weights or misread the stamps on them, the Ape will know of it and the Souls of God will weep. And love not precious metals or the dancing woman (?), for they make a man to err before God; moreover, by to-morrow the stolen gold will have turned into lead. You cannot cheat the Utchat (Eye of Rā) nor steal from the god Uben, for he is always present in the Utchat, and will know of your theft. Similarly, do not steal land by manipulating the Apt measure, because the Utchat is in the measure, and his seal is on it. Sins of this kind are always followed by punishment, therefore it does not pay a man to commit them. Do your best to benefit the rich men who employ you, but at the same time forget not your own interests. Be moderate in all your actions, being neither over-zealous nor apathetic; thus your conduct will be approved by all classes of men. If you sit in a beer-house you may forget

your station in life and insult some great man; this, likewise, does not pay. Therefore avoid the beer-house. Cultivate not the wine-cup, for that will put fresh courage into your adversaries, and therefore do you harm. And take care to frequent the temple of the god of the city, *i.e.*, attend divine service regularly, for that will both please the god and enhance your reputation for piety. Moreover, contribute to the expenses of the temple generously, but be humble and unostentatious in your gifts.

The courtesy, kindness, humanity and consideration for the feelings of others which Amen-em-apt counselled are everywhere visible in his Teaching, and need no special mention here, but a word or two may be said about his personal religion. Apart from his canon of official morality, and his adhesion to the official religion of his town, he seems to me to have possessed a personal religion of a very high character. His monotheism is undoubted, and he worshipped God, or "the God" alone, and nowhere does he acknowledge the existence of, or mention, "gods" in his Teaching. In some passages the god to whom he refers may be Rā, the Sun-god, *e.g.*, those referring to his works in the physical world, but others seem to show that he conceived of the existence of the great Disposer of the destinies of men, both living and dead. When he says: "It is He Who makes a man to arrive in Amentt, *i.e.*, the Other World, [where] he is safe in the hand of the God" (lines 408, 409), it cannot be Rā who is referred to. In the passages: "Seat thyself (*i.e.*, repose) on the two arms of the God" (line 432); "Commit thyself for safe-keeping to the hand of the God" (line 253). "The love of God is more precious and to be esteemed than the respect (or, reverence) of the

nobleman" (lines 525, 526), if Rā be the God referred to Åmen-em-åpt ascribed to him the attributes of the Hebrew and Christian God.

Of Åmen-em-åpt's views as to the future life we know nothing, but as there is no mention of Osiris, or of any god of his Company, we may assume tentatively that he did not accept the popular teaching as to the future state of the dead which was current in his time. It is clear that he recognized that a man was responsible to God for his actions, for he says, "Be kind to thyself, make thy body strong and happy, but take good heed to thyself in respect of Nebertcher, *i.e.*, God Almighty" (lines 146, 147). This passage has its equivalent in Ecclesiastes (xi, 9): "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth; and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes: but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into judgement." And following moral responsibility came the subsequent enquiry into the way in which it had been exercised, that is to say, the Last Judgement after death. The belief in this Judgement is a very old one in Egypt, and men had no need of the vivid vignette which we find in the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead to help them to bear it in mind. But Åmen-em-åpt must have seen and known the vignette, for he speaks of the "Ape sitting by the side of the Scales," and says that "his heart is the pointer" (lines 336, 337), and in the following line he refers to the god Thoth. In the accompanying scene, which is reproduced from the Papyrus of Iuåu, who must have been a contemporary of Åmen-em-åpt, we see the Ape sitting by the side of the Scales, and he is described as being "Thoth, the Lord of the words of the

God" (*i.e.*, Rā). In line 324 Åmen-em-åpt gives the reason why the Ape sits by the Scales: it was because "his eye travelled round about the Two Lands" (*i.e.*, through all Egypt), and he saw everything that was done everywhere. Now the Dog-headed Baboon (*Cynocephalus Hamadryas*) is known by naturalists to be a marvellously alert, untiring, and all-seeing watcher,[1] and the theologians who designed the vignette made Thoth employ him to watch the weighing of words and deeds in the Great Scales on his behalf. In the Book of the Dead the Judgement takes place before Osiris, and Thoth reports to him, but Åmen-em-åpt will have none of Osiris, and he makes Thoth the final arbiter. Thoth, as the heart and mind of God, alone was qualified to be the judge of the words and deeds of men. And it was Thoth who, in the dim past, when Osiris himself was arraigned before the Great Company of the gods of Heliopolis, recognized the truth of the words of Osiris and his innocence, and gave him the verdict of Truth-speaker.

From first to last the Teaching of Åmen-em-åpt seems to show that his official religious views were based on the old solar cult of Heliopolis, and that his personal religion was of the same character as that of the great scribes and sages of that city

[1] See Blanford, W. T., *Observations on the Geology and Zoology of Abyssinia*, London, 1870, p. 222; and Brehm, *Reise nach Habesch*, p. 88. Ludolf says (*Hist. Aethiopica*, lib. I, cap. X) that when a company of these baboons wish to steal fruit from a garden they act with great craftiness and send out spies to find out if there is a guardian in it. If there is not, they make signs to their companions, who then rush into the garden and devour everything. "Astutissime agunt, nec eos ingrediuntur nisi exploratoribus praemissis: qui ubi tuta omnia sociis significaverint, toto agmine irrumpunt nihil prorsus reliqui facientes."

who flourished under the Ancient Empire. Passages like that in which he discusses evil and good in relation to God link him with the religious philosophers of that period. There is little doubt that he lived in the first half of the XVIIIth dynasty, at all events before Åmenḥetep III gave his powerful support to the cult of Åten, the physical body of the Sun-god. It is clear that he adopted the views current as to the power of this god, for he advises his readers and hearers to pray to him daily for health and strength, because he will give them everything necessary for their life and physical well-being. But he does not ascribe to him the powers which Åakhunåten (Åmenḥetep IV) and his followers claimed for him, and he reserves his admiration and wonder for the might and majesty of Rā as displayed in the physical works of creation. He cannot have been an Åtenite, or "Disk-worshipper," in the modern meaning of the word, for his Teaching possesses a distinctly ascetic character, which that of Åmenḥetep IV, judging by the tombs and other remains at Tall al-'Amârnah, did not possess. And the cult of Åmen, or Åmen-Rā, which was predominant in the Thebaïd under the XVIIIth dynasty, cannot have appealed to him, or in some way or other he would certainly have made mention of that god in his Teaching; he was certainly no devoted Åmenite. In his daily life he probably lived like a typical Egyptian country gentleman, exact in the fulfilment of his duties to his God, a respecter of ancient traditions and customs, generous to the widow and the orphan, kind to the poor, and a refuge for his dependants and for those who were unfortunate and sorrowing. No one went hungry or naked in his days. His counterpart may be found to-day among the

educated gentlemen fallaḥ proprietors in the great grain-producing districts of Upper Egypt, the principal difference being that they worship Allâh, and not Rā as did their forefathers three thousand years ago.

King Khati advised his son to build himself a splendid tomb in the necropolis on the west bank of the Nile, and to cut upon it inscriptions which would not only honour God, but commemorate his own works. The scribe Ani also counselled his son to prepare a fine tomb for himself in the necropolis of the mountain, wherein his body must in the course of time be buried. He told him not to forget to do this, and not to let any of his daily occupations cause him to forget the preparation of his tomb, and not to let the terrible form of death come to carry him off and find him unprovided with a tomb; the babe at the breast and the old man alike must die. Åmen-em-åpt gives no advice of this kind, and he mentions neither the tomb as the final abode of a man nor his death. Rā, or Khnem-Rā, he argued, gave him his body, and another solar god, Åten, or Åthen, provided for its physical wants; Rā guided him to Åmentt, where, he says, a man is "safe in the hand of God," and thus he was content to leave the matter of the future life.

THE TEACHING OF ÀMEN-EM-ÀPT, THE SON OF KA-NEKHT.

Translation.

[The Title of the Work and its Object.]

1. (Col. I). The Beginning of the Teaching concerning Life (*i.e.*, of how to live),
2. [and of] the testimonies (or, admonitions) of (*i.e.*, which lead to) safe conduct,
3. [and of] the directions for behaviour set forth by the ĀQĀQIU (*i.e.*, the high officials who had the privilege of entering the council chambers of kings and governors),
4. [and of] the commandments[1] of the Smeru (*i.e.*, the friends [of the king], or high officers of state).

   [This Teaching and the precepts contained therein will enable a man]
5. to know how to return a suitable answer to him that has spoken to him,
6. [and] to carry back a [satisfactory] report to the man who has despatched him on a mission,
7. [and] will make him to follow a straight course on the roads of life,

[1] The testimonies, directions for behaviour, and commandments mentioned in the above lines are the equivalents of the testimonies, precepts, and righteous judgements spoken of by David in Psalm cxix, and the "instruction of wisdom, justice and judgement and equity," referred to by Solomon in *Proverbs*, Chap. I.

8. [and] will enable him to maintain his position of safety upon the earth,
9. [and] will cause his heart to descend (or, enter) its case,
10. [and] make him steer his course away from evil (or, the evil one),
11. [and] make him to deliver himself[1] from the mouth of the common folk (?)
12. [and] to be applauded by the mouth of men of understanding.

[ÂMEN-EM-ÂPT AND HIS TITLES.]

[This Teaching was]

13. made (*i.e.*, written) by the Director of the Crops, who was highly skilled and experienced in his profession,
14. Scribe of the grain[2] of Upper and Lower Egypt,
15. Overseer of the barley crops, heaping up the grain to overflowing in the divine granary (or, granary of the god),
16. Officer in chief in charge of the harvests of his lord,
17. Registrary of the arable lands [and] of the coming in of the gifts (or, offerings) as ordered by the Law
18. in (?) the Great Name of His Majesty,
19. Custodian (?) of the funerary memorials on the boundaries of the Âakhut (*i.e.*, of the ancestral spirits whose bodies were buried in a special quarter of the necropolis, or merely the blessed dead in general).

[1] Literally, "to save him."

[2] Or, perhaps, "Grain scribe," a well-known title of an agricultural official.

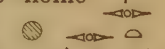
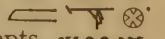
20. (Col. II). Defender of the King in his edicts of government,
21. Performer of the office of deputy (Wazîr ?) of Kam (Egypt),
22. Scribe of the various grains [that formed] the divine offerings of all the gods,[1]
23. Allotter of farms to the peasants [who wished to become tenants on the royal estates],
24. Overseer of the barley crops, Purveyor of supplies of grain,
25. Supplier of the Āḥāṭ (palace or tomb ?) with stores of barley,
26. Ger maā[2] of the town of Teni[3] and of the town of Nifu-ur,[4]
27. Reporter of the town of Âpu[5] (Panopolis),
28. Master of the Necropolis by the town Âmentt[6] [and] of the town of Sen,[7]

[1] Presumably of Memphis, Abydos and Thebes, but his effective overlordship was probably limited to that part of Egypt which in later days was called the Thebaïd.

[2] *I.e.*, a real Ger, not a titular Ger. The meaning of *ger* is "to be silent, to hold one's peace." It may be the religious title of the head of some form of the Egyptian Religion, and if this be so, the use of maā in connection with it suggests that this title was sometimes bestowed upon men honorifically. The inscriptions speak of a "real royal scribe," *i.e.*, a scribe who could and did work as a scribe, and also of a "real royal kinsman," meaning a man of the same blood as the king, and not an honorary kinsman. But see above, p. 101.

[3] Ten, or Teni, was the capital of the nome of Abydos in Upper Egypt: it is the Θῖς or Θῖνις of the Greek writers.

[4] A quarter of Abydos.

[5] Âp, Âpi, or Âpu was the capital of the nome (Panopolites) in Upper Egypt; perhaps = Khem  . The Greeks called it Panopolis, and the Copts  , which is preserved in the modern Arabic name of Akhmîm.

[6] Translation doubtful. Some pyramid-town on the western bank of the Nile may be referred to.

[7] The famous sanctuary of the god Menu at Panopolis.

29. Master of the sanctuary (?)[1] of Abydos,
30. AMEN-EM-APT, THE SON OF KA-NEKHT,
31. whose word is truth, of Nifu-ur.
32. His son is the little one[2] (youngest?) of his children.
33. Overseer of the mysteries of the god Menti (?)[3] in the character of Ka-mut-f[4] (*i.e.*, the "Bull or husband of his mother").
34. He is the man of least account among his relatives [and acquaintances],
35. Inductor[5] of Un-Nefer,[6]
36. Inductor of Horus upon the throne of his father,
37. Watcher (?)[7] who is in his holy shrine.
38. [Text mutilated.]
39. (COL. III). Surveyor of the Mother of the God.
40. Inspector of the Black Bulls of the stable (?) of Menti (?),
41. Defender of the god Menti (?) in his sanctuary.

[1] I cannot complete the transcription of the hieratic text of this name. Some well-known quarter of Abydos must be referred to.

[2] Or, perhaps, "least," using the word in a depreciatory sense.

[3] *I.e.*, Menu , the Greek Μίν. For a list of some of his forms see my *Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary*, p. 299.

[4] A self-produced and self-existent god who was much worshipped at Panopolis (Akhmîm). He is the Κάμηφις or Καμῆφις of the Greeks (see *Damascius*, ed. Wolf, tom. III, p. 261), and perhaps the Κμήφ mentioned by Wessely (*Eph. Gr.*, p. 20, No. 171).

[5] Probably the priest whose duty it was to "bring in" Un-Nefer.

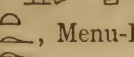
[6] *I.e.*, the Good or Beneficent Being, a form of Osiris.

[7] Or, perhaps, "inspecting priest." The break in the text makes the transcription of the title doubtful.

42. Horus as the Truth-speaker, his name of Maāt (his real name ?)[1],
43. Boy begotten by a nobleman (or, magistrate) of Âp (Panopolis),
44. Son of the sistrum-bearer and directress of the singing of the god Shu[2] and the goddess Tefnut,[3]
45. Powerful of word (*i.e.*, Mistress) in the College of Horus, [called] TA-USRIT.

[With the name of the mother of Âmen-em-âpt the Introduction to the "Teaching," which contains the title and object of the work, and the genealogy and list of offices held by its author, comes to an end. The "Teaching" itself begins with the words :—]

46. He speaks the FIRST CHAPTER.
47. I pray thee to lend me thine ears, hearken to the things that will be said [by me].
48. I pray thee to give thy mind (or, pay attention) to the difficult matters which will be unravelled [by me].
49. The setting of them in thy heart will be advantageous [to thee],

[1] This line suggests that when Âmen-em-âpt wrote his Teaching the identity of Menu, or Menti, was absorbed in that of Horus. The following forms of the dual god are well known : , Menu-Horus of the lifted arm, , Menu-Horus, son of Isis,  , Menu-Horus, the avenger of his father.

[2] He was an emanation of Tem, or Kheperâ, or Rā, and the personification of heat, light, and dryness, and the god of the space between earth and sky.

[3] She was an emission of Tem, or Kheperâ, or Rā, and the personification of water and moisture of every kind.

50. And the rejection of them will be a calamity [for thee].
51. I beseech thee to deposit them in the treasure-house of thy belly.
52. They will enable thy heart (or, mind) to right itself[1]
53. When a gale of words is beating hard upon it, [and]
54. They will form a guiding support in thy tongue.
55. If thou wilt live thy life day by day these things being in thy heart
56. Thou wilt find them [beneficial] in the season of adversity's trial.
57. (Col. IV). Thou wilt find my words to be like a treasure-house of life,
58. And a source of strength and safety [as long as thou art] upon the earth.

59. Second Chapter.

I.

60. Guard thyself against plundering the poor man
61. And from treating with harshness the destitute.

II.

62. Make not thy hand to turn aside at the approach of an aged man,
63. Thou assuming the mouth (*i.e.*, speech) of a great man.

[1] *I.e.*, they will help the ship of the heart not to overturn (which is the usual meaning of *penā*) but to alter its course, and to sail, if necessary, in the opposite direction.

III.

64. Not ever (*i.e.*, never) let a man be despatched by thee on a dangerous mission
65. When thou hast any affection for him who is to carry it out.

IV.

66. Thou shalt not inflict an injury on him that has attacked thee
67. When thou art able to return an answer to him on thine own behalf.

V.

68. The worker of iniquity—abandon him to the dyke (or, river) bank,
69. His water-flood he will bring [upon] himself.
70. The north wind hurled upon him will bring to an end in misery his hour (or, period of life),
71. He will be seized by the raging waters,
72. The Storm fiend will mount on high [and] the evil crocodiles.

VI.

73. The fiery, hot-headed man—what is he like to thee?
74. He shrieks imprecations, his voice soars upwards into the heights of heaven,
75. The god Âāḥu (*i.e.*, the Moon-god) stands still in his course, and holds him to be an abomination.

VII.

76. (Col. V). Work the steering oar, we must give a passage to the wicked man.[1]

[1] The translation of the last half of the line is doubtful; for wicked man we should perhaps read "the man in evil case."

77. May not we become ourselves like unto him ?
78. Set him up on his feet, extend to him gladly thy hand,
79. Commit him to the hands of the God.[1]
80. Fill his belly with the bread-cakes of thy providing.
81. Satisfy him to the full [with drink] whilst he . . . . . .
82. Another occasion of beneficence is in the heart of the God,
83. Idleness of the mind is speech [in this case].

84. THIRD CHAPTER.

VIII.

85. Couple not together the chattering man with the devil Tar (?)
86. When thou canst pierce him in speech.
87. Idle in mind [is] the crooked man (?), bow thyself to the attacker.
88. . . . . [is] speech.
89. A raging wind he rushes forth like a destroying fire among the reeds.
90. The noisy, hot-headed man in his hour (*i.e.*, when his rage is greatest),
91. Turn thyself aside from before him, leave the matter of him
92. To the God [Who] knows how to requite him.

[1] "The God," *pa neter*, . Âmen-em-âpt, like the earlier and later writers of this class of literature, does not mention the name of any particular god, and "the God" to him meant what Al-Allâh means to the Arabs. In the course of his Teaching he mentions Rā, Âten, and other gods, but I do not think he is referring to any of them here. In funerary texts "the god" frequently means Osiris, but this Teaching is not a funerary text.

IX.

93. If thou wilt pass the days of thy life [keeping] these things in thy heart,
94. Thy children, behold them !

95. FOURTH CHAPTER.

X.

96. (COL. VI). Now (or, as for) the noisy, hot-headed man of the house of the god (or, temple),
97. He is like a large, leafy tree planted in the courtyard [of a temple] ;
98. Its [leaves][1] come to an end (*i.e.*, wither), his unripe fruit drops off,
99. Brought when its end has come to the water-course (?)
100. It is [cast] into the water, and carried away far from its place,
101. The flame of fire is its winding-sheet (or, shroud).
102. [But] the GER MAĀ who sets himself by the side [of the road],
103. He is like a large leafy tree planted in shining (or, fertile) ground (?).
104. It blossoms, it doubles its yield of fruit in the summer.
105. It has its place before the face of its lord (or, owner).
106. Its foliage (or, fruit) is sweet, the shadow thereof is pleasant,
107. And it is carried at its end (*i.e.*, finally) into the groves of the God.

[1] Some noun seems to be wanting after .

108. FIFTH CHAPTER.

XI.

109. Make no encroachment on the dykes of the house of the god.

XII.

110. Commit not an act of avariciousness so that thou mayest find (*i.e.*, obtain) additional wealth.

XIII.

111. Make not to turn aside from his duty a servant of God
112. To do what is profitable to another man.

XIV.

113. Say not, "To-day is even as to-morrow morning [will be]."
114. The end (or, result) of this [reasoning] will be like what?
115. (COL. VII). To-morrow has yet to come, to-day has yet to pass away.

XV.

116. The water-flood (Inundation) is on the mouth (*i.e.*, crest) of the surging waves.
117. The crocodiles make themselves visible [from the mud], the hippopotami appear in the light [from the water].
118. The fish leap (?) in the waters.
119. The wolves gorge themselves, the geese keep high festival.
120. The restraining cords are cast loose.
121. Now every GER of the house of God
122. Shall say, "Great is the graciousness of Rā."

123. O thou who art filled with silence, thou shalt find the life,
124. Thy body shall be preserved in safety upon the earth.

125. SIXTH CHAPTER.

XVI.

126. Thrust not aside the funerary monument on the boundaries of the Aakhu (*i.e.*, remove not a tombstone which is on the borders of the Necropolis)
127. When thou art marking out additional lands for crops (?).

XVII.

128. Commit no robbery (*i.e.*, filch not away land) by means of the cubit of the fields
129. When thou art assessing the bounds of the estate of the widow.
130. The land that has gone back from the plough is the waste of a man's lifetime.
131. He who cheats thee, himself belonging to the fields (or, land),
132. Is snared in the counsels of iniquity,
133. He is fettered by the Divine Souls (*i.e.*, Will) of Aāhu (the Moon-god).
134. (COL. VIII). Make thyself to see what he does upon the earth.
135. He is a greedy robber of the helpless man.
136. He is the deadly enemy who would work the overthrow of thy body.
137. Life is snatched away by the mere sight of his aspect.
138. His house is the enemy of the town [in which he lives].
139. [But] his store-houses shall be swept away as by a flood,

140. His possessions shall be carried off from the hand[s] of his sons and daughters,
141. His goods (or, wealth) shall be given to another (*i.e.*, stranger).

XVIII.

142. Take good heed concerning the treading down of the boundaries of the fields,
143. Lest horrible calamity be brought upon thee.

XIX.

144. Likewise make propitiatory offerings to God by the Divine Souls (*i.e.*, Will) of Âāḥu (the Moon-god).
145. Occupy thyself with the affairs of the boundaries of the Âakhu (*i.e.*, the Ancestral Spirits, or the blessed dead).
146. Be kind to thyself, make thy body strong and happy,
147. [But] take good heed to thyself in respect of Nebertcher.[1]

XX.

148. Drive not thy furrows through the lands[2] of another.
149. Profitable to thee is the strength (or, well-being) which comes by their mouth (?).
150. Plough thou in the fields which thou findest to be thy own property,
151. Take thou the bread-cakes from the store-house of thy body.

[1] *I.e.*, "Lord to the uttermost limit," or God of the Universe, the All-Lord.

[2] is perhaps the edge of a field where the plough turns.

XXI.

152. Better is one *àpt* of land (about six feet) which the God has given thee
153. Than five thousand *àpts* which thou hast gotten by fraud (or, violence).

XXII.

154. (Col. IX). Do not acquire the habit of passing the day in eating-houses and places where roasted meat [is sold].
155. Do not acquire the habit [of passing the day] in tasting one pot of beer after another.
156. Those who pass their whole time at the food-store[1]
157. Become to-morrow [merely] victuals.

XXIII.

158. Better is the beggar who is in the hand of the God
159. Than the rich who are safely housed in a comfortable dwelling.

XXIV.

160. Better are bread-cakes of flour and water with a loving heart (or, mind)
161. Than rich meats that carry with them bickering and quarrelling.

162. Seventh Chapter.

XXV.

163. Fashion not thy heart in such wise that it hankers after things of wealth (*i.e.*, luxurious foods and apparel).
164. Not unknowing are the god Shai (Luck) and the goddess Renenit (Destiny).
165. Let not thyself abandon thy heart (or, mind) to the things that are extraneous.

[1] Literally, "granary."

166. Let every man have his hour (*i.e.*, let every man choose his own time for his own affairs).

XXVI.

167. Form not the habit of ordering thyself to seek for more than thou hast
168. [When] thy own goods and possessions are in thy safe keeping.

XXVII.

169. If valuable goods which have been obtained by robbery have been brought together by thee
170. They will not pass the night in thy hands,
171. At daybreak certainly they will not be in thy house.
172. They will look at the place where they were, and most assuredly they will not be [there]; they have swallowed themselves.
173. Either the ground has opened its mouth, and swallowed them up straightway,
174. (Col. X). And they have sunk down deep in the abyss [thereof];
175. [Or] they have become a great broken heap through rust (or, decay);
176. [Or] they have become submerged in the room [for waste];
177. [Or] they have made for themselves wings like the geese,
178. [And] have spread their wings and flown up into the sky.

XXVIII.

179. Make not thyself to take pleasure in rich treasures that have been obtained by robbery,

180. Whilst sighing (*i.e.*, pretending to grieve) for the man who has been plundered (or, the beggar).

XXIX.

181. When the chieftain of the Stiu (Asiatics, or bowmen ?) departs from a man
182. His servants destroy him.

XXX.

183. [If] thou sailest with a robber thou wilt be left in the stream,
184. [But] the boat of the GER has a fair wind [behind it].

XXXI.

185. Accustom thyself to direct thy sincere prayer to the Âṭen (*i.e.*, the God of the Solar Disk or the Disk itself) when he is rolling up into the sky,
186. Saying, "Grant to me, I beseech thee, strength and health."
187. He will give to thee the things that are necessary for the life.
188. Thou shalt be safe from anxious care.

189. EIGHTH CHAPTER.

XXXII.

190. Bestow thou thy beneficence (or, bounty ?) on the bodies of the people,
191. [And] thou shalt be applauded by all faces (*i.e.*, everybody).

XXXIII.

192. Praise and exult in the Serpent (*i.e.*, Goddess),
193. Spit upon Âpep.

XXXIV.

194. Keep thy tongue from speech of lying (or, slander).

XXXV.

195. (Col. XI). Show thou kindness (or, affection) to people of humble condition.

XXXVI.

196. Find thou thy seat in the sanctuary of the house of the god,
197. The gifts made by thee shall be the cake-offerings of thy Lord.
198. Make thyself to be [as if] thou wast one of the blessed dead, [and as if] thou wast a swathed [mummy] in thy coffin.

XXXVII.

199. Be thou strong for the Divine Souls (*i.e.*, Will) of God (to do His Will ?).

XXXVIII.

200. Make not an invocation to bring a detestable thing upon people.

XXXIX.

201. Hide [thou] the affairs (or, plans) of the fugitive (slave ?)

XL.

202. Whether thou hearest the thing that is good or the thing that is evil,
203. Treat it as a matter that is outside thy interest ; hearken not to it.
204. I beseech thee to spread with thy tongue only the report of that which is good upon the earth,
205. Whilst as far as reports of evil are concerned, hide them in thy belly.

206. NINTH CHAPTER.

XLI.

207. Make not to be a friend of thine the hasty, hot-headed man,
208. Even though thou hast to go to his house frequently to have speech with him.

XLII.

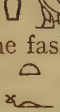
209. Keep well thy tongue in making an answer to him that is thy chief,
210. At the same time guarding thyself against reviling him.
211. Never permit his speech to fall on thee like a lasso
212. So that thou must uncoil it by means of thy answer.
213. Put questions to him (or, consult with him), answering like a subordinate in thy agitation.
214. At the same time taking good heed not to oppose (?) him.

XLIII.

215. (COL. XII). The word that is uttered by a man with malicious (?) intent is swifter to hurt
216. Than the wind that precedes the storm (?).
217. This man casts to the ground, this man builds up with his tongue,
218. He gives utterance to strings of words that carry destruction in them.
219. This man makes an answer that merits a beating (?).
220. [For] the burden (*i.e.*, object) thereof is to do harm.
221. He trafficks by means of a boat after the manner of other folk.
222. He loads the boat with the discourse of iniquity,

223. He makes himself the ferryman of him that catches [men] in a net of words.
224. [Whether] he is going away [or whether] he is coming back, he continues to chatter (or, gossip).
225. Whether he is eating or whether he is drinking, even in his own house,
226. His conversation returns to matters that are outside (or, that have nothing to do with him).[1]
227. The Day itself stands up and makes an accusation against his abominable deeds,
228. His sons and daughter cry out "Woe" to themselves.
229. The god Khnem-Rā[2] makes a process (or, brings a case) against him.

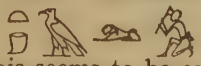
[1] *I.e.*, his answer to any question is always beside the mark.

[2] Khnemu was one of the oldest gods of Egypt, and the animal sacred to him was the flat-horned ram, which disappears from the monuments before the XIIth dynasty. His name means "the uniter," *i.e.*, it was he who put together the material from which man was made. He was also the "builder," , of men. He was older than Rā, and was "the fashioner of mankind, the creator of the gods, the Father,  who was in the beginning." He "made the things that are, and will make those that shall be; he is the source from which all that is sprang, and was the Father of fathers, and the Mother of mothers." He was "the Grandfather of the gods and goddesses, he was self-created, and the maker of heaven, earth, underworld, water, and mountains." Later he associated with himself Rā, Shu, Geb and Osiris, and his priests identified him with the primeval Water-god Nu, or Nenu, and subsequently with Ḥap-Ur, the Great Nile of Egypt. Âmen-em-âpt, assuming that the mischief-making scandal-monger whom he is denouncing was made by Khnem-Rā, suggests that the god is so disgusted with the behaviour of the being whom he created that he renounces all responsibility for him.

230. He is of the potter's wheel of (*i.e.*, worked by) the devil Tar,[1]
231. He mixes together and kneads [material] to destroy the hearts (or, minds of men) therewith.
232. He is like a whelp of [one of] the dogs (literally, wolves) of the stable (or, farm-yard)
233. With his eye fixed jealously on [the movements of] his companions.
234. (Col. XIII). He causes men and women to become enemies by his scandal-mongering.
235. He goes before every wind like the blast that goes before the *habûb* (*i.e.*, the sand-storm or whirlwind of the desert).
236. He destroys the hair (or, skin) of Shu.[2]
237. He gathers his tail (*i.e.*, bends it round) about him like the young crocodile,
238. Bringing it close to him ready for the deadly sweep.
239. His lips are date-syrup, his tongue is a deadly dagger.
240. A consuming fire blazes within his belly.
241. Make no flights (*i.e.*, attempts) to fill (*i.e.*, please) that fellow,
242. Lest thou bring calamity upon thyself.
243. Tenth Chapter.

XLIV.

244. Allow not thyself to be greeted as a friend among thy [neighbours] by the hasty, hot-headed man who is thy opponent ;

[1] This devil is mentioned in the Rubric to Chap. CLXIV of the Saïte Recension of the Book of the Dead under the form  .

[2] This seems to be an allusion to the obscuring of the face of the sky by the storm-clouds produced by the hurricane.

245. [If thou dost] thou wilt thyself damage thy heart (or, mind).
246. Make not thyself to say to him, "Thou art praised," with evil intent,
247. There being terror in thy body.

XLV.

248. Hold not converse in the company of men of iniquity,
249. For that is an abominable thing [to do] before the God.

XLVI.

250. Make not thy mind to be divided for the sake of thy tongue.
251. Let all thy plans and behaviour have a sound foundation.

XLVII.

252. Be weighty (*i.e.*, dignified) in the presence of people of lowly condition.
253. (Col. XIV). Put thou thyself for safe keeping in the hand of the God.

XLVIII.

254. God hates the man who utters frivolous, lying speech.
255. The greatest abomination to Him is the man who [nourishes] enmity [in his] belly.

256. ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

XLIX.

257. Hanker not greedily after the things of the man whose food is dainty and spiced,[1]
258. Though thou art hungry for his bread.

[1] Or, perhaps, Hanker not greedily for the things (*i.e.*, food) of the man who eats and drinks luxuriously, *i.e.*, the gourmand or glutton (*not* epicure).

259. Now the food that is dainty and spiced is as a storm in the gullet (or, turns the stomach),
260. [And] it makes the bowels to eject it.
261. It turns the man who is a counsellor into a man of iniquity,
262. And his sense turns itself away from his body.
263. Inasmuch as the evil nature (or, base appetite) corrupts [his] disposition for well-doing,
264. The evil [in him] destroys what is good.

L.

265. Be thou a creature of nought in the presence of thy chief (*i.e.*, superior officer).
266. Thou shalt acclaim him humbly in thy speech (*i.e.*, conversation).
267. Thy adulatory remarks, they shall meet and turn aside his cursings.
268. Thy homage when smelling the earth [shall disarm his] violence.

LI.

269. When thou hast swallowed the mouthful of bread of a great man thou shalt vomit it,
270. [And] thou shalt be empty of thy good thing (or, dainty ?).

LII.

271. Make thyself to understand (or, see) the foresight (?) of the glutton.
272. (Col. XV). He himself gathers together staves [for the hunting nets ?].
273. Every one of his servants is a beater for the hunting traps,
274. [And] a strong man smites (*i.e.*, kills) in the slaughter-house.

LIII.

275. [If] thou art undone (or, vanquished) in the presence of thy chief
276. It will be a disgrace for thy subordinates (or, servants).
277. Steer thou thy course away from the glutton forthwith ;
278. Observe him, at the same time avoiding the things [which he offers thee].

279. TWELFTH CHAPTER.

LIV.

280. Behave not greedily in respect of the things (*i.e.*, food) of the nobleman,
281. Since the filling of the mouth with the bread of a great man is unstinted (*i.e.*, is free to every comer).
282. If he gives to thee for the growth (*i.e.*, increase) of his possessions
283. Hate (*i.e.*, reject) what is his [and] keep safe what is thine.

LV.

284. Make no undertaking (?) in company with the noisy, hot-headed man,
285. [Or] thou wilt be making thyself a friend of a man of moral obliquity.

LVI.

286. If thou art sent on a mission to transport straw
287. Hate (*i.e.*, cast away, or reject) the weeds (?) that are [in] it.

LVII.

288. If thine eye lights upon a person who is engaged on a mission of danger (?)
289. Report it not, but dispatch him on his errand [and] let him return for another occasion.

290. THIRTEENTH CHAPTER.

LVIII.

291. Make not men to affix [additions ?] to the roll (register ?).
292. This is an abominable thing to the God.

LIX.

293. (COL. XVI). Make not the word of one man of iniquity [to appear] to be the truth by any act of thine,
294. Whilst at the same time thou art supporting another man of iniquity with thy tongue.

LX.

295. Reckon not as nothing things [that have value],
296. [By so doing] thou wilt falsify thy rolls (or, registers).

LXI.

297. If thou findest a great mass of hidden treasure in the possession of a poor man,
298. Make (*i.e.*, divide) it into three portions.
299. Release two portions [and] let one remain [with thee],
300. Thou shalt find it like the ways of life.
301. Thou shalt lie down and sleep and pass thy whole night [as safely] as if it were to-day ;
302. Thou shalt find it like the report (or, news) of a good thing.

LXII.

303. Better is the praise (*i.e.*, approval) with the love of men
304. Than the riches (or, wealth) laid up in a treasure house.
305. Better are the cakes of flour and water [eaten] with a loving mind (or, disposition)
306. Than strong meats [eaten] with strife and enmity.

307. FOURTEENTH CHAPTER.

LXIII.

308. Remember not [too exactly] the antecedents of a man
309. When thou art striving (?) to seek for his hand (help ?),
310. If he says to thee, "Accept the things [which I have] brought."
311. He is not one who has no . . . . . .
312. Cast not malign looks at him whilst bending down thy face,
313. Whilst turning away thy glance elsewhere.
314. Greet him with kind words in thy mouth, speak and salute (?) him cordially.
315. (COL. XVII). [If] he approaches thee (?) thy end comes.
316. Make him not to go down to his former [state],
317. On another occasion he can be brought (?).

318. FIFTEENTH CHAPTER.

LXIV.

319. Do the thing that is right [and] thou wilt attain to a [true] state of being.

LXV.

320. Make no erasure (?) in the registers on behalf of an encroacher.

LXVI.

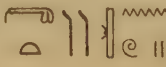
321. Since the beak of the Ibis-god (*i.e.*, Thoth) is the finger of the scribe,
322. Take good heed not to thrust it aside.
323. The Ape [of Thoth] sits directing Per-Khemenu (Hermopolis),

324. His eye travels round about through the Two Lands (*i.e.*, Upper and Lower Egypt).
325. Since he observes the man who makes a slip (or, mistake) with his finger,
326. He will withdraw his benefactions (or, endowments) according to what is right (?).[1]
327. If the scribe continues to make slips (or, mistakes) with his finger.
328. His son will not be decreed [for employment.]

[The idea that the beak of the Ibis-god (Thoth) is the finger of the scribe is new to me. It has long been known that the deceased was identified with the palette of Thoth, and the scribe's palette with Osiris. In Chap. XCIV of the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead, which is entitled "Chapter of praying for an ink-pot and palette," the deceased says, "Hail, Aged God, who sees his father, guardian of the Book of Thoth. I bring [them], I hasten, Aker, dweller in Set. I bring the ink-pot and the palette, which are the necessary things for the hand of Thoth; hidden (or, secret) is what is in them. Behold me, a scribe. I bring the corruptible body of Osiris, I write on it. I make (*i.e.*, write) the words of the great and beautiful god every day, happily. Thou didst order me, Ḥer-Âakhuti. I do what is right (*i.e.*, I perform truth), I bear it to thee every day." On the palette as Osiris see Pietschmann, *Der Verstorbene als Schriebpalette* in *Festschrift für Georg Ebers*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 82.]

LXVII.

329. If thou wilt pass the days of thy life these things being in thy heart,
330. Thy children—behold them!

[1] The transcription  is doubtful.

331. SIXTEENTH CHAPTER.

LXVIII.

332. Make not the balance to swerve [either] through thy falsification of the *qeṭ* weights,
333. [Or] through thy obliteration of the mouths of the measures (*i.e.*, the characters or stamps on the weights and measures).
334. Make not a practice of preferring the measures of the fields,
335. Thou abandoning those in use in the house of silver (or, White House).
336. The Ape [of Thoth] sits by the side of the Scales,
337. (COL. XVIII). [And] his heart [acts] as the tongue (or, pointer) thereof.
338. God removes, even as does the Great One Thoth,
339. Him that is in the habit of finding these devices to do them.
340. Accustom not thyself to cheat by means of the *qeṭ* weights.
341. It is they (*i.e.*, the cheaters) who multiply the tears of the Divine Souls (*i.e.*, Will) of God.

LXIX.

342. If thou seest another man stumbling from time to time,
343. Go with him and enable him to continue on his way.[1]

LXX.

344. Covet not (or, be not greedy for) the precious metals.
345. Hate (*i.e.*, avoid or reject) the beautiful singing woman (?).
346. What is it like ? A fetter, a tie.

[1] Or, If thou seest a man going astray, guide him to the road which he ought to follow.

347. It makes [a man] to stumble (or, go astray) in the presence of the God.
348. If a paddle (?) of gold be scraped off from an object of the finest gold
349. At daybreak to-morrow morning it will be lead.

350. SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER.

LXXI.

351. Take heed neither to defraud the divine Utchat (*i.e.*, the Eye of Rā)
352. Nor to falsify the mouths (or, commands ?) thereof.
353. Make no robbery of [the things of] Uben, the mighty god,
354. For he (*i.e.*, Uben) is never wanting in (or, absent from) its (the Utchat's) body.[1]
355. Thou shalt give its measure, as to a great man [when] he is coming in.
356. Thy hand shall set it down (?) justly (or, correctly).

LXXII.

357. Make not a measuring rod, *Âpt*, for thy use, whereby thou canst measure with two [different results].
358. Do always the thing that is right (*i.e.*, measure correctly)
359. Since the *Âpt* measure is the Eye of Rā.
360. (COL. XIX). It (*i.e.*, the Utchat, or Eye of Rā) holds in abomination the man who robs and steals
361. And who when measuring makes many mistakes,
362. Since the seal of his eye is upon the Âpt measure.

[1] This seems to mean that the god Uben, who is Rā, is always in the body of his Eye.

LXXIII.

363. Receive not the summer grain of the peasant farmer,
364. Thou binding [him] by what is registered against him to ruin him.
365. Make not thyself one (?) with the measurer(?)
366. Thou meanwhile playing (?) the master of the house.
367. The Divine Souls (or, Will of God) increase the store-house grain
368. More than the Director of the Great Place.

369. EIGHTEENTH CHAPTER.

LXXIV.

370. Accustom not thyself to lie in bed (or, sleep) whilst the dawn is rising in an awesome manner in the sky.
371. The break of the day and the dawn [are] like what ? (*i.e.*, to what can they be compared for beauty ?)
372. The man who has no knowledge of the dawn [is] like what ? (*i.e.*, to what can he be compared for ignorance ?)
373. Whilst the God is [occupied] with His works of beneficence
374. The man is [indulging in] his slothfulness.
375. On the one side are the words (or, gossip) that men utter,
376. On the other are the works that the God is doing.

LXXV.

377. Say not, " By no manner of means is what is abominable (or, evil) to be permitted [to exist],"
378. Whilst thou thyself art doing thy utmost to seek after strife.

379. If the thing that is abominable (*i.e.*, evil) belongs to the God,
380. He Himself will stamp it with the seal of His finger.
381. There is no goodness in the hand of the God
382. Because there is no badness before Him.
383. (Col. XX). If He could bring Himself to seek after goodness
384. The occasion ended (*i.e.*, the opportunity served) He would destroy it.

LXXVI.

385. Be weighty in thy mind, consolidate thy heart,
386. Accustom not thyself to shape thy course by thy tongue [only].
387. Even if the tongue of a man be the steersman of the boat,
388. It is Nebertcher who is its watcher in the bows (*i.e.*, captain).

389. Nineteenth Chapter.

LXXVII.

390. Go not among the members of the Town Council in the presence of the President,
391. Or thou mayest be obliged to contradict (or, show to be inaccurate) thine own words.
392. Be not continually rising up and sitting down whilst thou art making thy answer ;
393. Thy testimonies must support themselves.
394. Make no altercation with (or, make no attempt to coerce) the supporters of a lord (*i.e.*, any owner of property),
395. A word [spoken] in the Council Chamber may lead to a vexatious inquiry.
396. Speak the truth in the presence of the President,

397. Lest he seize and take possession of thy person.
398. If thou wilt appear before him in the early hours of the day
399. He will consider graciously every word of thine.
400. Speak thy mouth (*i.e.*, say thy say) in the Court before the headmen,
401. Watch carefully, so that thou mayest come back on a second occasion.

402. TWENTIETH CHAPTER.

LXXVIII.

403. Make not a member of the Courts of Law[1] to trip up (*i.e.*, to arrive at a wrong conclusion or verdict)
404. Through thy setting aside (or, hiding) the truth,
405. (COL. XXI). For whilst thy face is cloaked with a garment (?)
406. And thou art sheltered (or, content) he is under constraint (?).

LXXIX.

407. Accept not a present (*i.e.*, bribe) from a man of power and authority
408. [If] thou art to treat wrongfully for him the poor man in distress.

LXXX.

409. Now Truth is the great bearer of God,
410. He gives it to the man who loves Him.
411. Since the mighty power is with him who is like unto Him
412. He carries off (or, slays) the impotent one in his violence.

[1] Or, perhaps, of the "Official Classes."

LXXXI.

413. Make not for thyself . . . . . .[1] of iniquity.
414. They are the great auxiliaries of Death,
415. They are the great incentives to sloth [in respect of] honourable actions,
416. They are the guides who report for the herald [of judgement].

LXXXII.

417. Falsify not the things that make thee to wonder [written] on the roll,
418. For thus thou wilt be injuring (or, disarranging) the plans of God.

LXXXIII.

419. Make no [attempt] to find for thyself the Divine Souls (*i.e.*, Will) of God,
420. Do not the god Shai (Luck) [and] the goddess Renenit (Destiny) exist?

LXXXIV.

421. Study to make to increase (or, flourish) the possessions of the lords of wealth,
422. Thou at the same time seeking for thyself the means of subsistence.
423. Never build thy heart in their houses (*i.e.*, set not thy affections upon the houses they live in),
424. Thy carcase [being] in the house of slaughter.

425. TWENTY-FIRST CHAPTER.

LXXXV.

426. (COL. XXII). Say not, "I have found a very chief of robbers,"

[1] The determinative 𓉔 indicates some article of furniture, perhaps couch or bed; the word is unknown to me.

427. When the offender happens to be a man in thine own town.
428. Say not, " I have found a sedition-monger " (or, rebel)
429. When the offender happens to be a hater (*i.e.*, enemy of thine).
430. For most assuredly thou knowest not the plans of God.[1]

LXXXVI.

431. Bring not to an end (*i.e.*, waste not) in slumber the early hours of the day (or, the dawn).

LXXXVII.

432. Seat thou thyself on the two arms of the God.
433. To thy silence (silent meditation ?) [add] prostrations on the ground.

LXXXVIII.

434. If the crocodile is going to lash out with his tail, cry out (*i.e.*, give warning),
435. For even the papyrus plants hold him in awe.

LXXXIX.

436. Do not empty thy belly when the people are round about thee,
437. For if thou dost thou wilt destroy their respect for thy dignity.

XC.

438. Make not thy words to circulate among the common folk (or, peasants),
439. If thou dost thou wilt become a companion of the man of violence.

[1] Lines 430–433 are repeated in lines 455–458.

XCI.

440. Better is it for a man to keep his information (or, news) in his belly
441. Than to publish it abroad with the addition of lies.

XCII.

442. Never run with swift steps to attain that which will be advantageous [to thee],
443. [On the other hand] never create the circumstances that will destroy it.

444. TWENTY-SECOND CHAPTER.

XCIII.

445. Make no attempt to shut the mouth of (or, to make dumb) the man who is holding converse with thee ;
446. Do thou tell him that he must declare [what is in his] heart.
447. Make no flight (*i.e.*, attempt) to enter [into the conversation] against him (*i.e.*, to anticipate his remarks)
448. (COL. XXIII). [When] thou dost not see what he is doing (*i.e.*, the point which he is making).
449. Make thyself to understand beforehand what the answer to him must be.
450. [If] thou art heated (*i.e.*, losest thy temper) thy end comes.
451. Let the matter rest upon him, he will empty his belly.
452. Knowing his character (or, view) he can be found out,
453. His feet (or, legs) being removed he cannot work his iniquity,
454. Being afraid he will not act underhandedly.

455. For, most assuredly, thou knowest not the plans of God.
456. Bring not to an end (*i.e.*, waste not) in slumber the early hours of the day (or, the dawn).[1]
457. Seat thou thyself on the two arms of the God.
458. To thy silence (silent meditation ?) [add] prostrations on the ground.

459. TWENTY-THIRD CHAPTER.

XCIV.

460. Eat not thou bread in the presence of the Governor,
461. Thus setting thy mouth forward into prominence (?).

XCV.

462. If thou fillest thyself full of the rich meats of iniquity
463. They will pass back again in thy vomit.

XCVI.

464. Keep thy gaze fixed upon the vessel (platter?) which is before thee,
465. Thou must make it to serve all thy needs.

XCVII.

466. Though the Governor may resemble a nobleman in his official position,
467. He may also resemble the sacred crocodiles in the water [in] rapacity and cruelty.

468. TWENTY-FOURTH CHAPTER.

XCVIII.

469. Listen not to the answers (*i.e.*, conversation) of the Governor in his own house,

[1] Lines 455–458 are a repetition of lines 430–433.

470. (Col. XXIV). Thou then repeating what he said to thee outside in the town.
471. Even when thou hast brought thy mouth outside [his house],
472. Do not empty out into the street what is in thy breast.
473. Since the heart (or, mind) of a man is the nose of God
474. Take good heed that thou dost not cause it sorrow.
475. The man [to whom thou speakest] may be a powerful official,
476. [He may also be] a private person whose name is quite unknown.

477. Twenty-fifth Chapter.

XCIX.

478. Make not a laughing-stock of the blind man. Vex[1] (or, browbeat) not the dwarf,
479. [And] frustrate not the plans of the afflicted (or, lame) man.
480. Vex[1] (or, irritate) not a man who is in the hand of the God (*i.e.*, the man who is suffering through some dispensation of God)
481. By singing to him the praises of him who has wronged him.

C.

482. Even if a man mixes the mud [and] the straw
483. It is the God Who is his builder.
484. It is He Who throws down [a house], it is He Who builds [it] up daily.
485. It is He Who can turn a thousand [men] into corruption at His pleasure,

[1] Or, perhaps, "make not a mock of."

486. It is He Who can make one man to have the overseership of a thousand.
487. A man lives his [allotted] hour of life :
488. Rejoice, be glad. It is He Who makes [a man] to arrive in Âmentt ;
489. He is safe in the hand of the God.

490. TWENTY-SIXTH CHAPTER.

CI.

491. Accustom not thyself to sit in the beer-house.

CII.

492. (COL. XXV). Give not commands to one who is greater than thyself,
493. Whether he be [thy] junior in his official position,
494. Or whether he be [thy] senior by birth.

CIII.

495. Show thyself friendly to the man for whom thou hast antipathy.
496. The strength of Rā is to him that is on the road.

CIV.

497. If thou seest a man who is greater than thyself outside [his house],
498. Follow after him and greet him with words of respect.

CV.

499. Stretch out the hand to the aged man when he is filled full of beer,
500. Treat him reverently when he is in the company of his sons and daughters.
501. Is not thy arm (or, strength) made weak by robbery ?
502. Is not the back bowed by affliction ?

CVI.

503. Reduce not to beggary the [poor] man who has uttered something which is pleasant
504. Rather than the rich man whose strings of words are straw.

CVII.

505. The man who is in the bows of the boat (*i.e.*, the captain) watches the going thereof,
506. He does not allow his bark to capsize (or, be submerged).

507. TWENTY-SEVENTH CHAPTER.

CVIII.

508. Curse (*i.e.*, abuse) not the man who is greater than thyself,
509. He will look at the god Rā in front of thee.
510. And moreover, he will report thee to the god Aṭen as he rolls up into the sky.
511. Say: For a man of no importance to heap curses upon a great man,
512. [Is] a crime (*i.e.*, a thing worthy of death) unknown to the Rā.
513. (COL. XXVI). [If] a man of no importance wishes to curse a great man,
514. Come! Let him inflict a beating on thee, thou [keeping] thy hand in thy bosom.
515. Come! Let him heap curses upon thee, thou remaining silent.

CIX.

516. If like the dawn (at the time of dawn?) thou appearest before him,
517. He will give to thee the means of living in an open-handed manner.

518. If the means of which he is master [are] from the finger (or, seal) of his lord,
519. They consume (?) him to whom they are given (?)

520. TWENTY-EIGHTH CHAPTER.

CX.

521. Do not make find (*i.e.*, search out) the widow . . . . . in the fields,
522. Do not permit thyself to return an answer to her.

CXI.

523. Make no undue haste to sing the praises (or, to follow the cult) of the wine cup[1] (?),
524. It will increase (or, double) the heart (*i.e.*, courage) of thine adversaries.

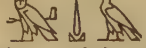
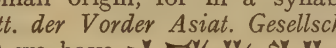
CXII.

525. The love of God is more precious [and] estimable
526. Than the reverence of the nobleman (or, magistrate).

527. TWENTY-NINTH CHAPTER.

CXIII.

528. Turn not back the people who wish to cross over the river
529. Whilst thou art stretched out at thy ease in the cabin.
530. If a paddle (or, oar) be brought to thee when the ferry-boat is in mid-stream,

[1] The word  , *m'tchaqatà*, seems to be of Babylonian origin, for in a syllabary published by Meissner (*Mitt. der Vorder Asiat. Gesellschaft*, 1913, No. 2, p. 65, line 21) we have  , *mu-zi-ku*, a kind of wine.

531. Grasp it with both thy hands, take it [and use it],
532. There is nothing which is an abomination in the hand [to] the God.
533. (Col. XXVII). Is not happy (or, content) the toiler?

CXIV.

534. Set not to ply a ferry-boat on the river
535. If thou art strenuous in thy quest of the fares of those who cross the river on it.
536. Let the fares drop into the hand of the master of the craft (?)
537. Thou being happy (or, content) with no part of them.

538. ## Thirtieth Chapter.

539. Behold the Thirty Chapters!
540. They will give [thee] pleasure, they will teach [thee],
541. They will [serve as] a leader (or, guide) to every book.[1]
542. They will give knowledge to (*i.e.*, make to be wise) the ignorant man.
543. If they be read out in the presence of an ignorant man
544. Assuredly he will steer his course [through life] according to their mouth (*i.e.*, direction).
545. Fill thyself full (or, steep thyself) in [the counsel of] what is in them, set them, I beseech thee, in thy heart;
546. Make thyself to be the man who has unravelled their contents,

[1] Or, perhaps, "They are the first (or, principal things) of every book"—in fact, the cream of every work of this kind.

547. Thinking out and understanding [their] teaching.
548. If [the bearer be] a scribe who would make himself to be pre-eminent in his profession,
549. He will find himself to be of equal importance with the SMERU (*i.e.*, the "friends" of the King).

550. Here ends the Book (Explicit liber).

COLOPHON.

551. (COL. XXVIII). [Done] into writing by Shennu, the son of the Divine Father Pamâi (?).

THE TEACHING OF ÀMEN-EM-ÀPT, THE SON OF KANEKHT.

HIEROGLYPHIC TRANSCRIPT OF THE HIERATIC TEXT IN BRIT. MUS. PAPYRUS, NO. 10474.

THE TEACHING OF ÅMEN-EM-ÅPT, THE SON OF KANEKHT.

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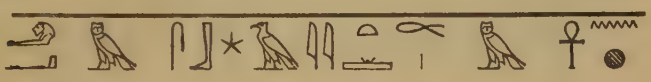
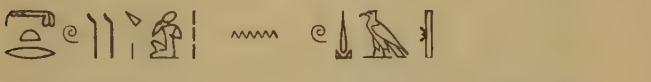
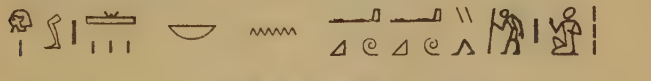
COL. I.

1. 
2. 
3. 
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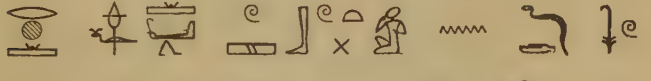
5. 
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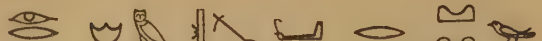
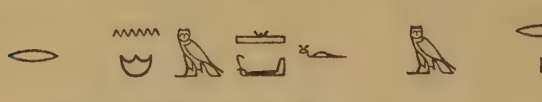
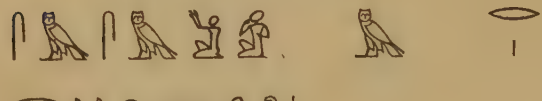
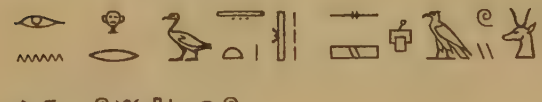
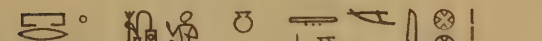
Col. I.

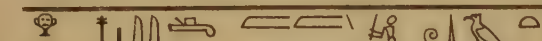
10. 

11. 

12. 

13. 

14. 

15. 

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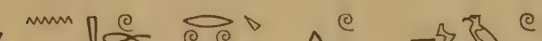
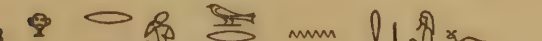
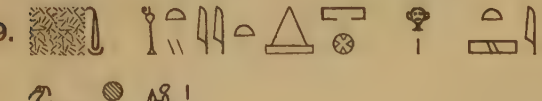
17. 

18. 

19. 

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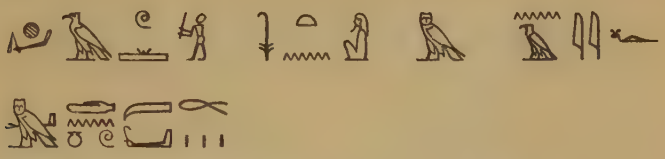
20. 

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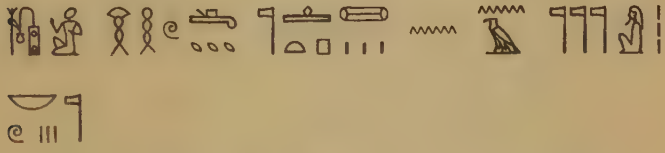
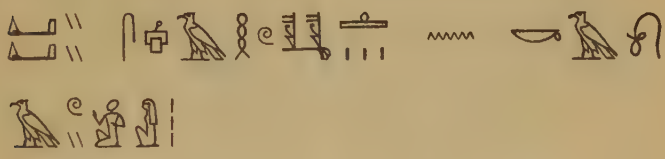
22. 

23. 

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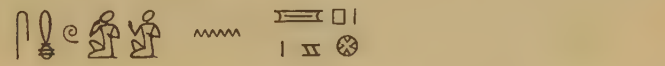
27. 

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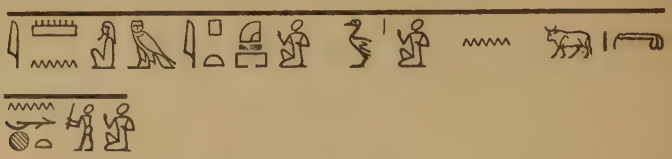
30. 

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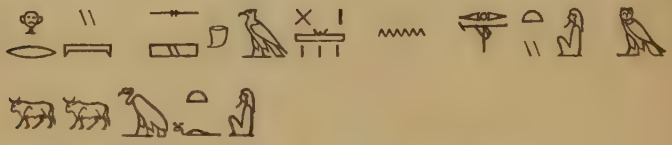
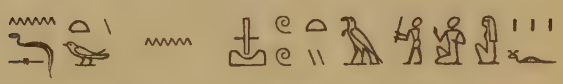
33. 

34. 

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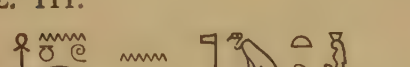
39. 

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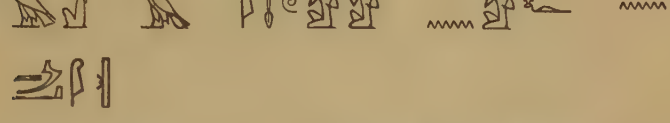
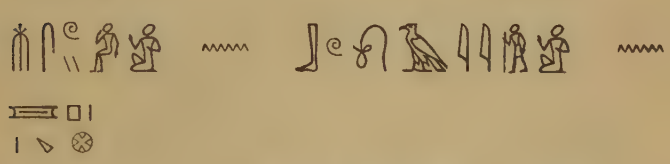
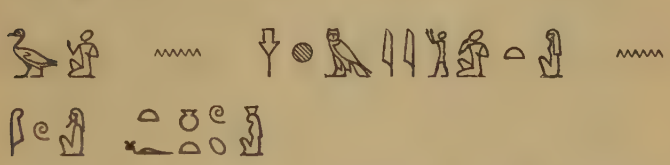
42. 

43. 

44. 

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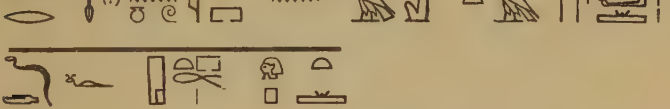
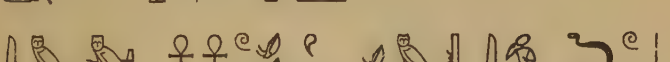
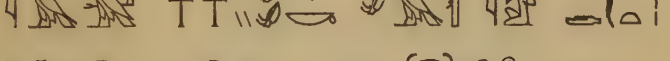
46. 

47. 

48. 

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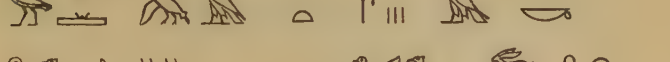
51. 

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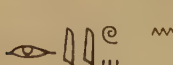
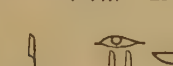
54. 

55. 

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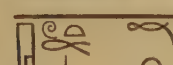
59. 

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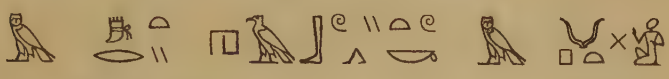
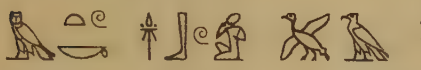
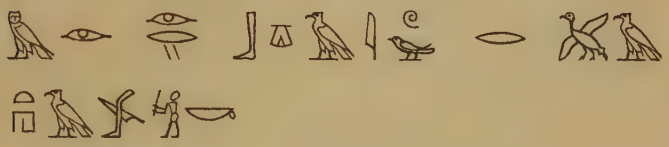
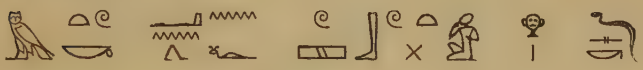
64. 

65. 

66. 

67. 

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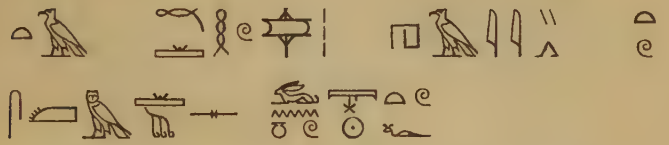
70. 

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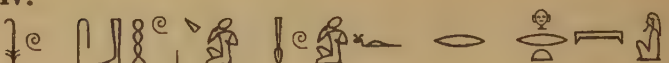
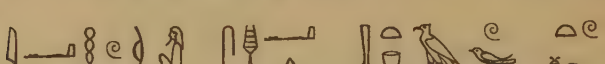
74. 

75. 

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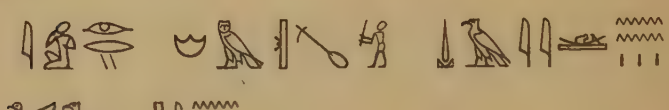
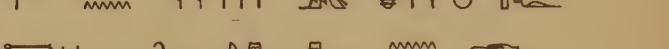
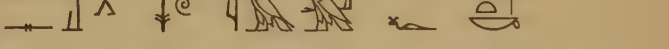
76. 

77. 

78. 

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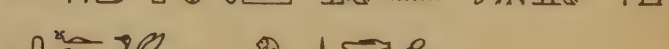
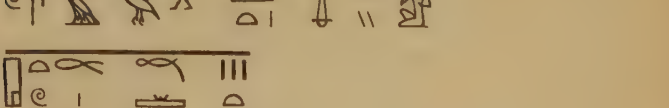
84. 

85. 

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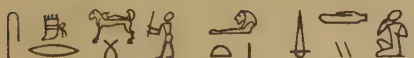
88. 

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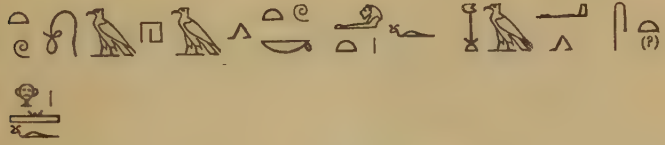
91. 

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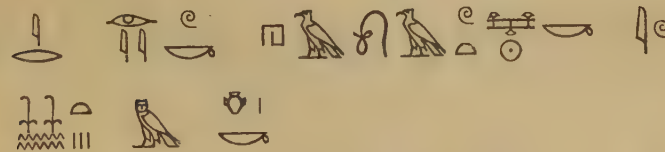
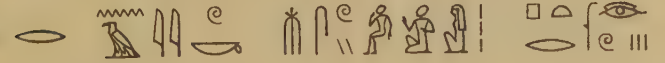
93. 

94. 

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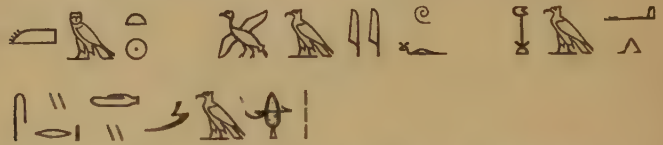
98. 

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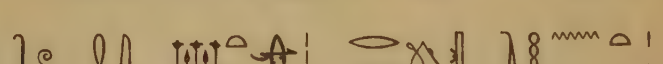
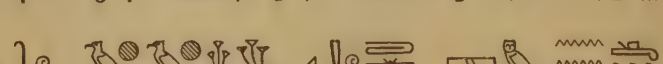
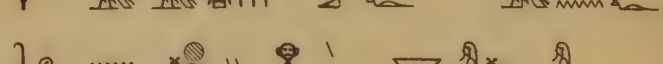
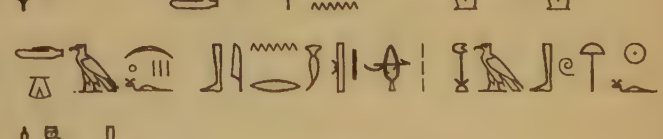
103. 

104. 

105. 

106. 

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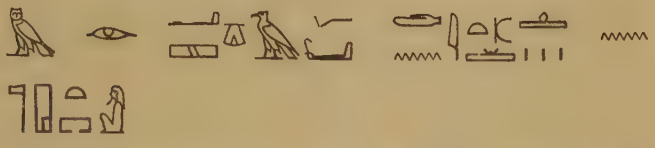
109. 

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Col. VII.

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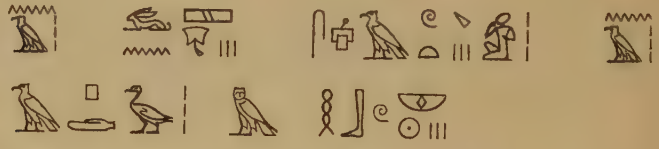
119. 

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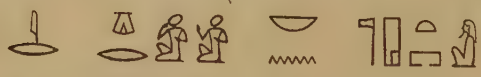
121. 

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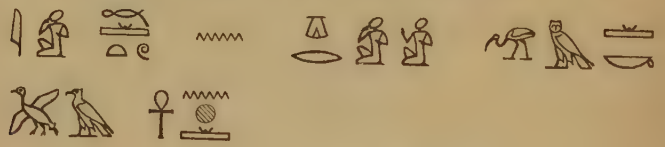
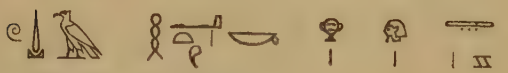
123. 

124. 

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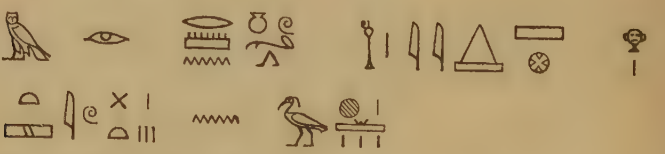
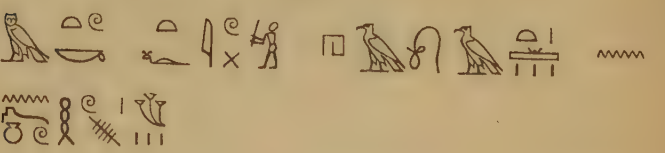
126. 

127. 

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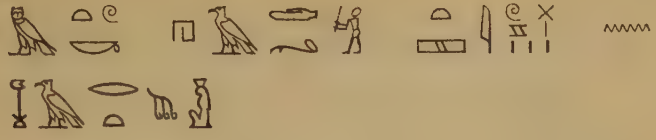
129. 

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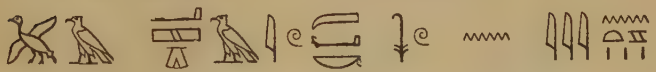
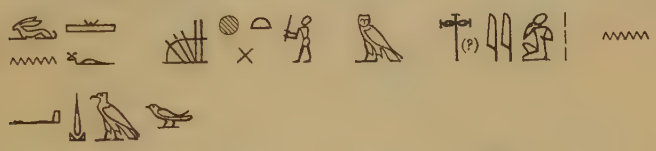
131. 

132. 

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Col. VIII.

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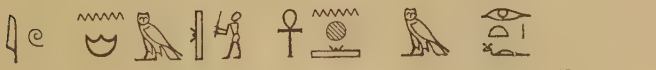
137. 

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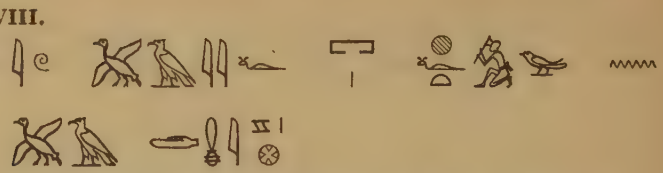
138. 

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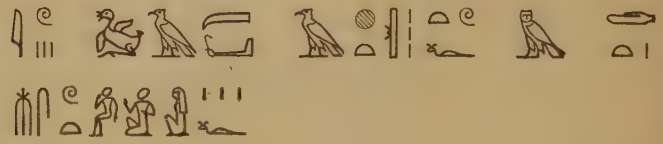
140. 

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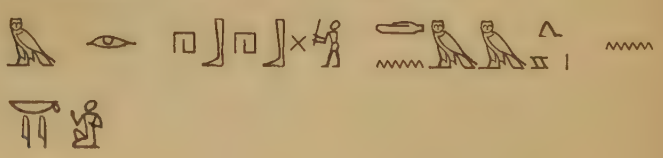
148. 

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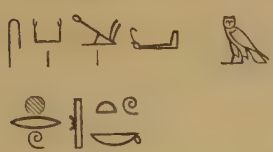
150. 

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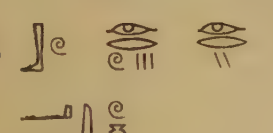
155. 

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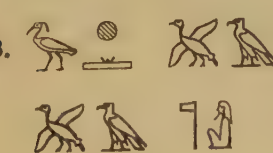
158. 

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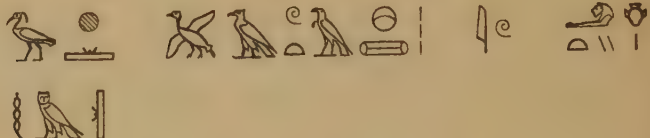
160. 

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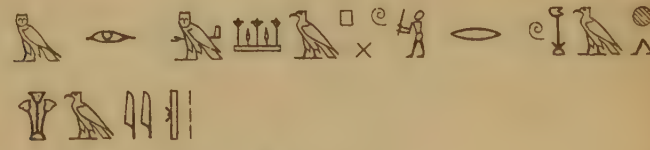
167. 

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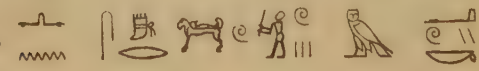
170. 

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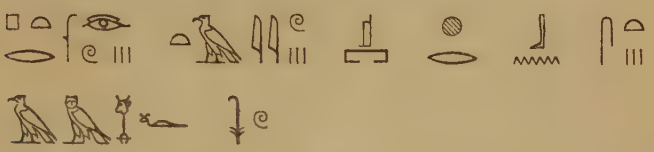
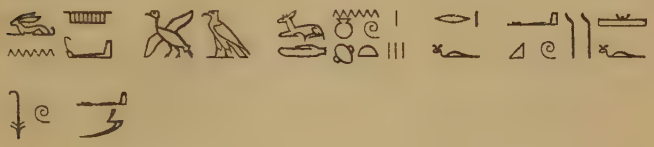
172. 

173. 

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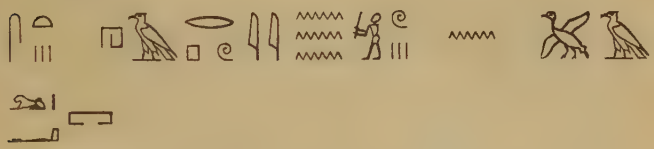
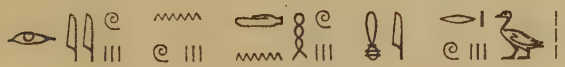
176. 

177. 

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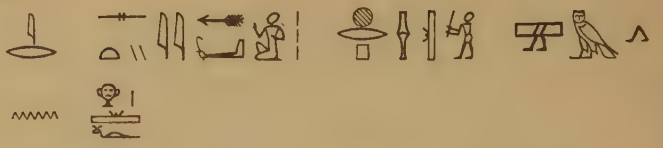
181. 

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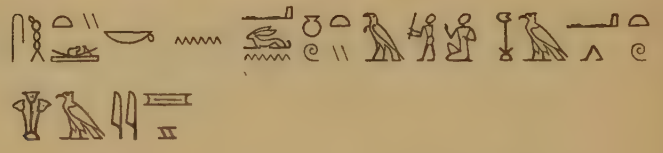
183. 

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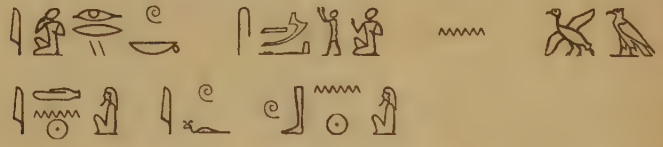
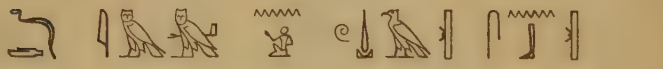
185. 

186. 

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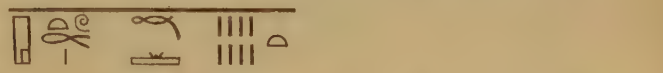
189. 

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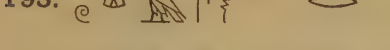
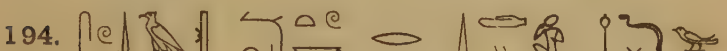
193. 

194. 

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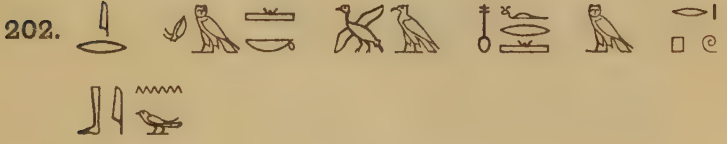
202. 

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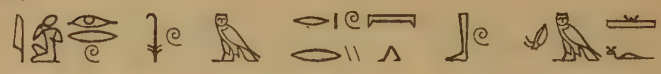
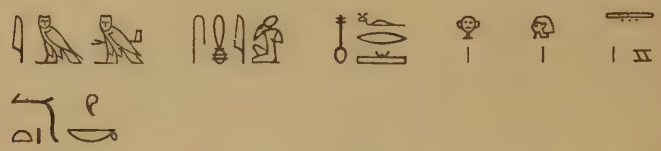
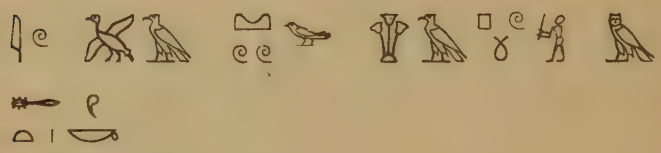
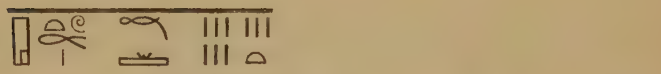
203. 

204. 

205. 

206. 

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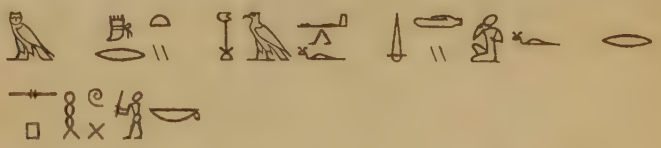
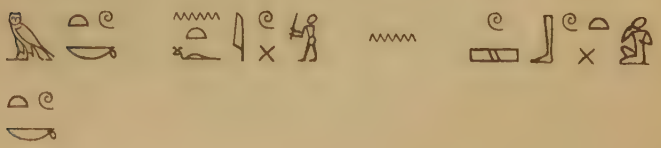
211. 

212. 

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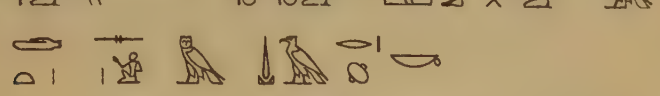
213. 

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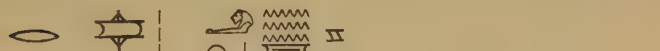
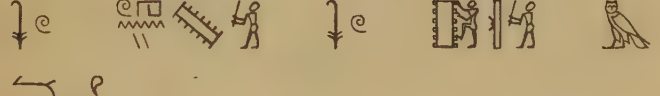
216. 

217. 

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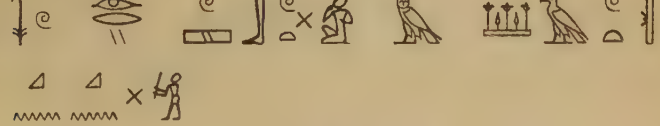
219. 

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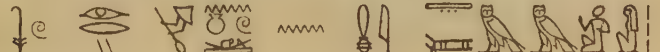
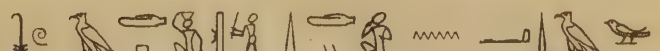
221. 

222. 

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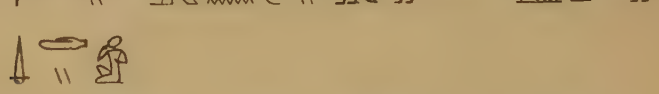
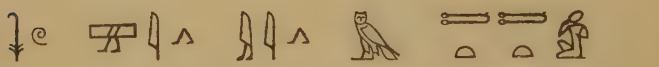
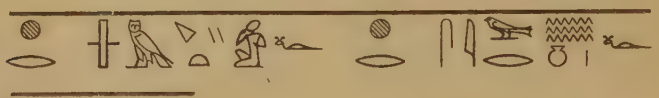
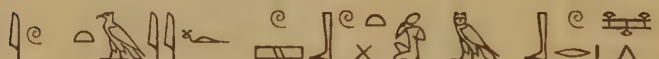
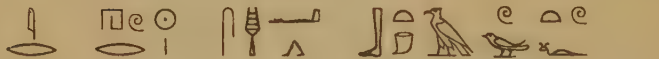
223. 

224. 

225. 

226. 

227. 

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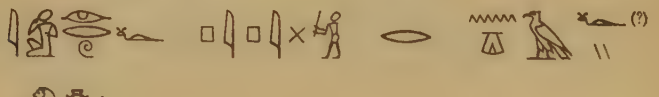
231. 

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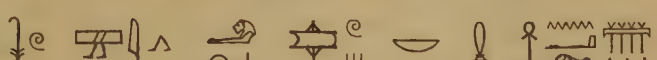
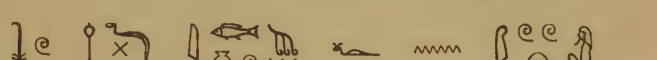
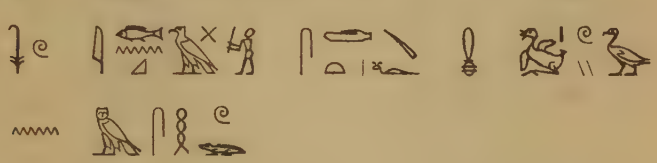
235. 

236. 

237. 

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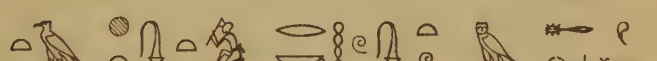
240. 

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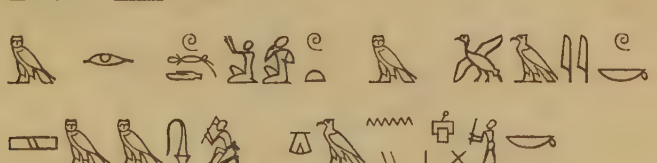
244. 

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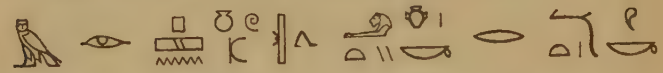
250. 

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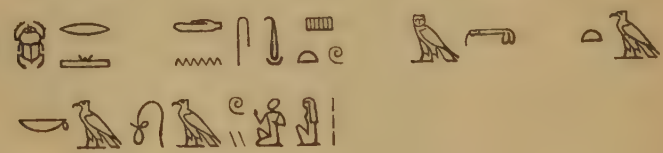
252. 

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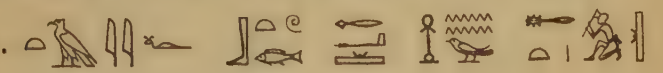
255. 

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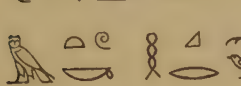
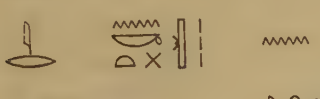
258. 

259. 

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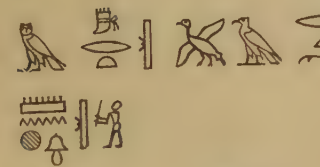
263. 

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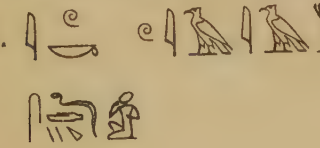
266. 

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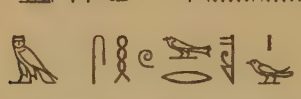
267. 

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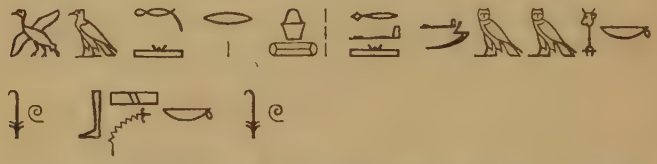
269. 

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Col. XV.

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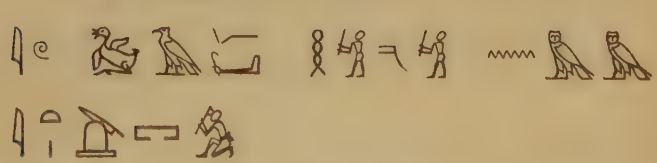
274. 

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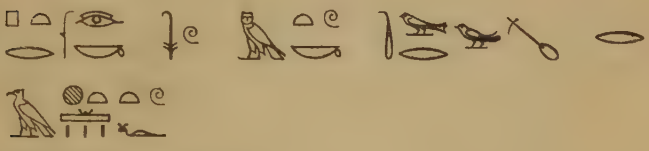
278. 

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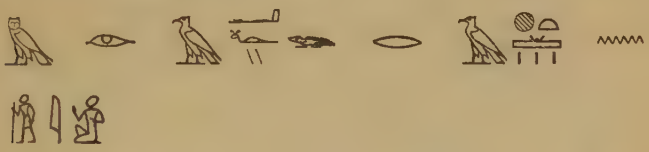
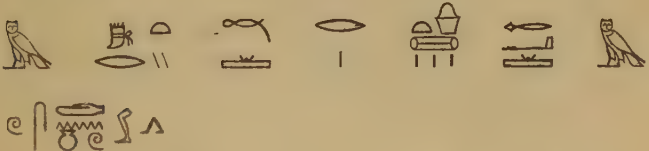
280. 

281. 

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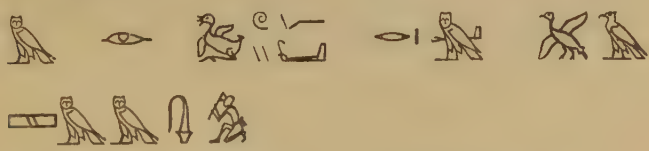
284. 

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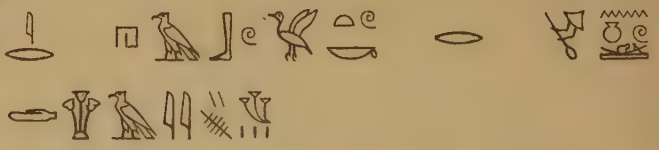
286. 

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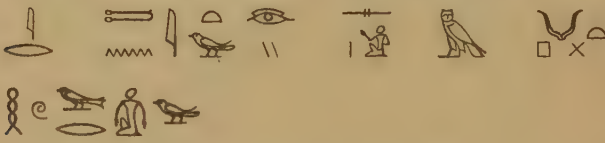
288. 

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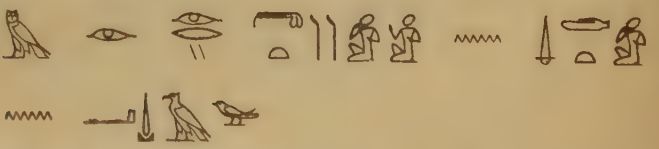
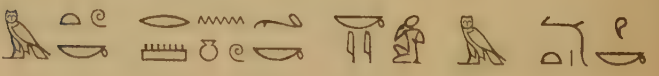
293. 

294. 

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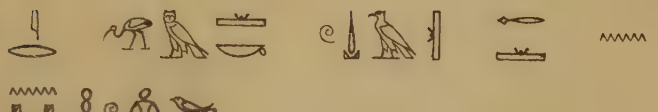
297. 

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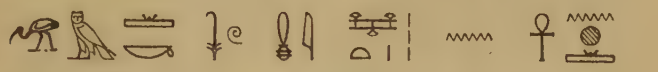
300. 

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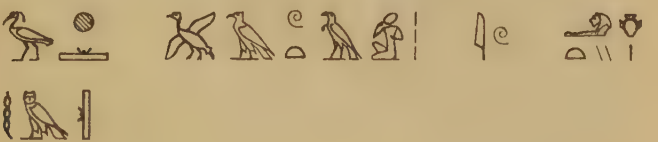
305. 

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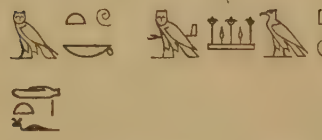
309. 

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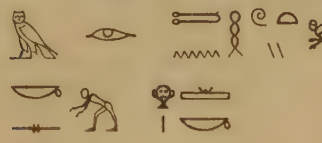
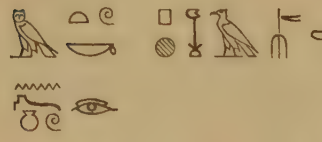
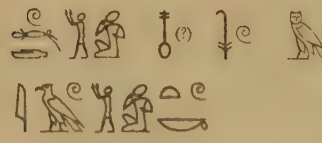
312. 

313. 

314. 

Col. XVII.

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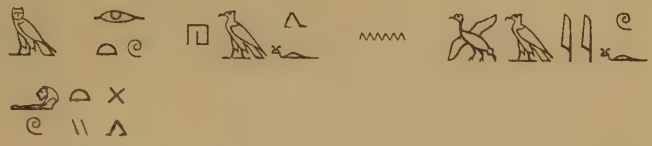
316. 

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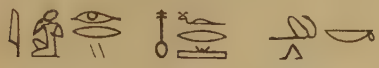
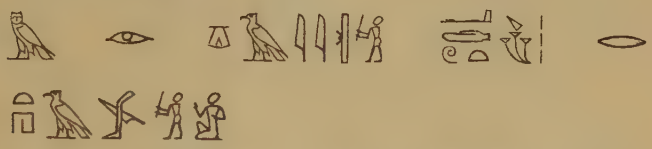
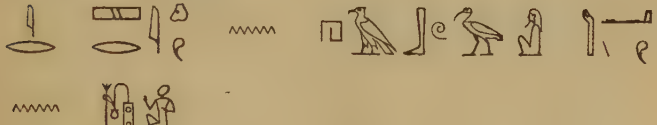
319. 

320. 

321. 

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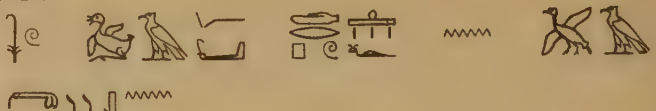
326. 

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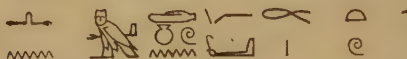
328. 

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Col. XVIII.

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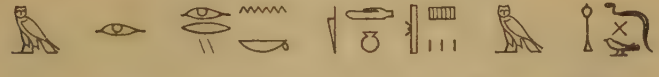
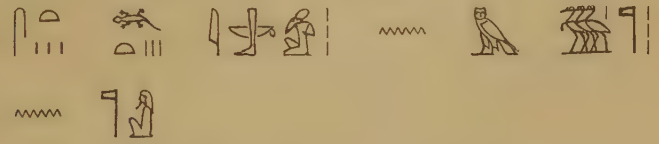
340. 

341. 

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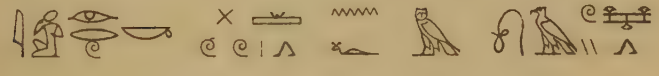
343. 

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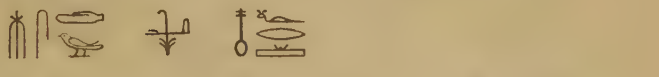
345. 

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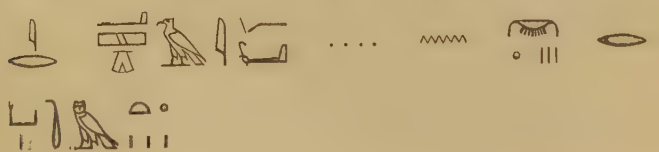
348. 

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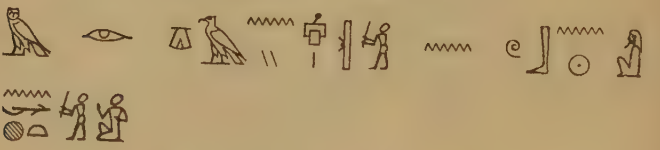
353. 

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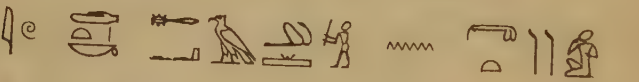
356. 

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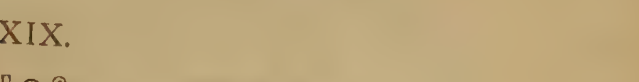
360. 

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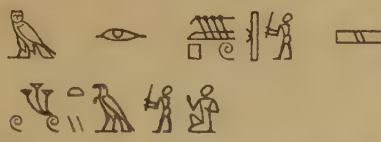
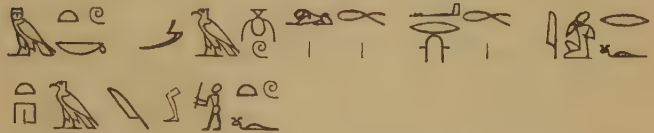
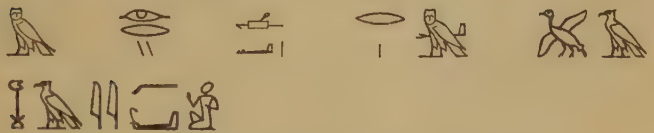
363. 

364. 

365. 

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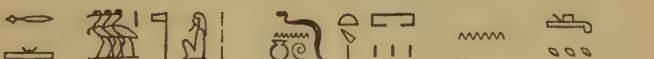
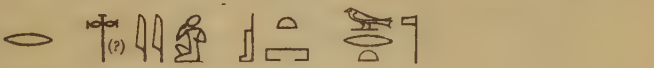
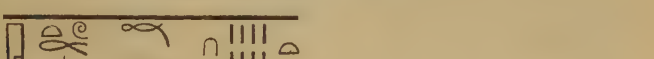
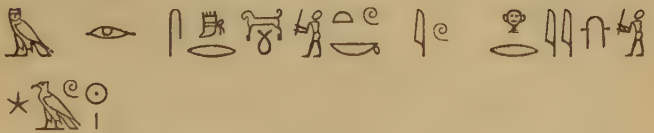
367. 

368. 

369. 

370. 

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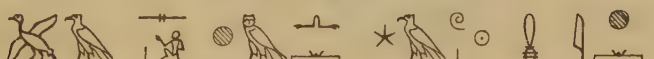
372. 

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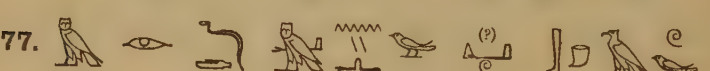
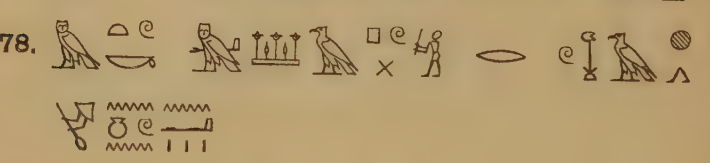
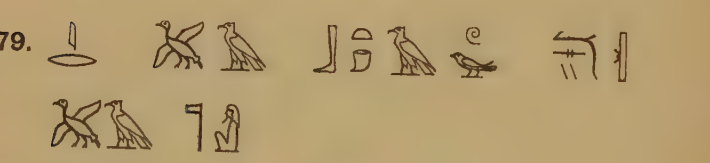
377. 

378. 

379. 

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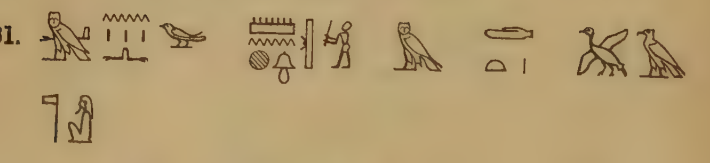
381. 

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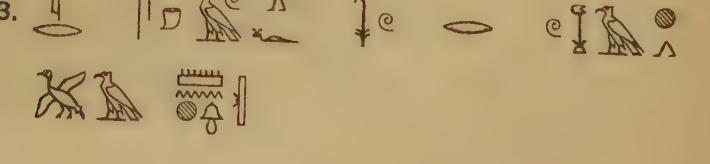
383. 

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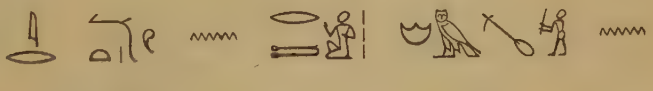
387. 

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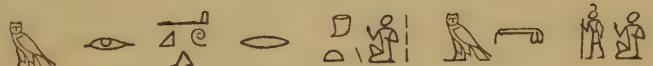
390. 

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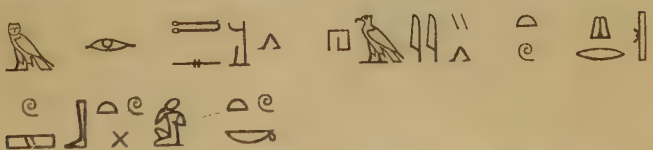
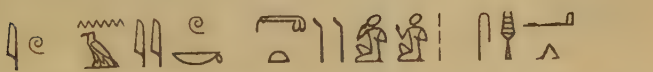
392. 

393. 

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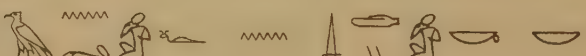
399. 

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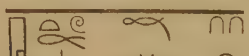
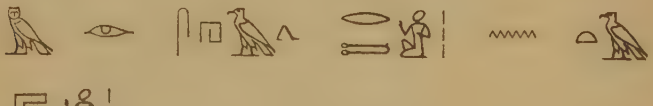
402. 

403. 

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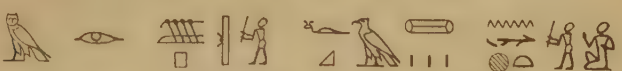
407. 

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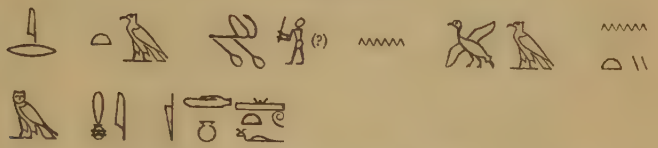
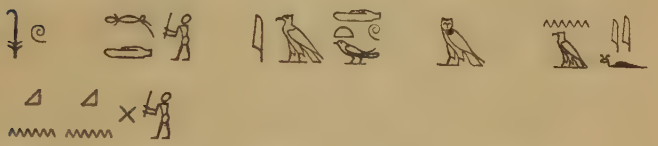
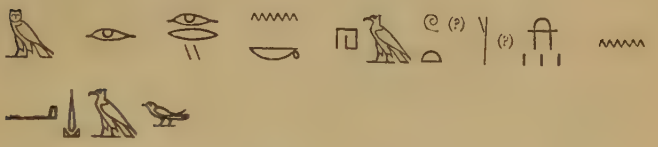
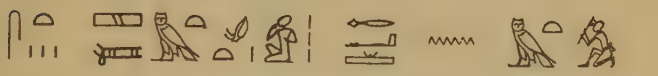
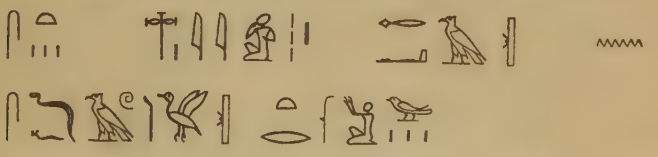
411. 

412. 

413. 

414. 

415. 

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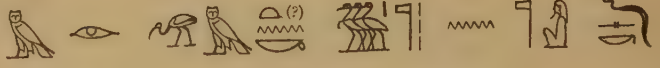
419. 

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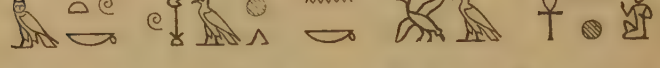
424. 

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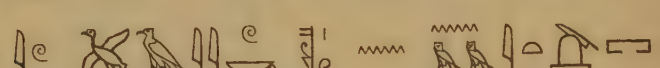
426. 

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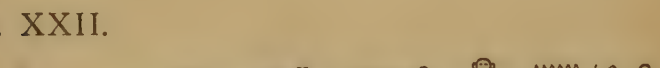
429. 

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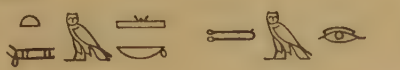
431. 

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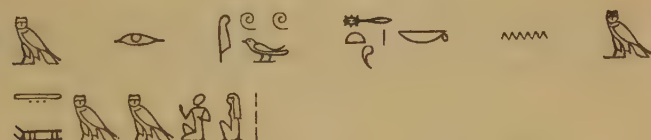
436. 

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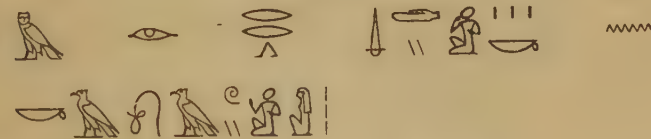
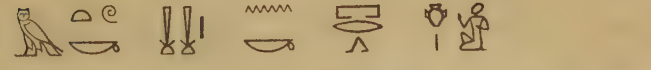
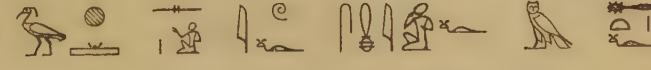
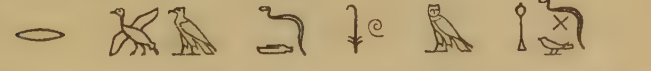
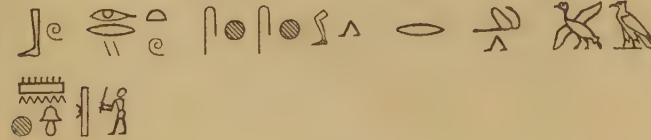
438. 

439. 

440. 

441. 

442. 

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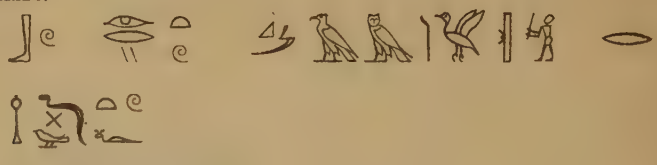
443. 

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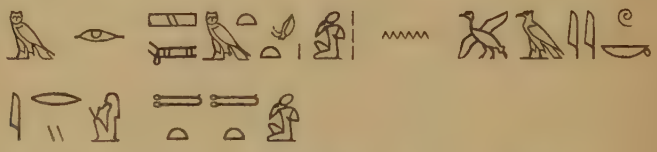
445. 

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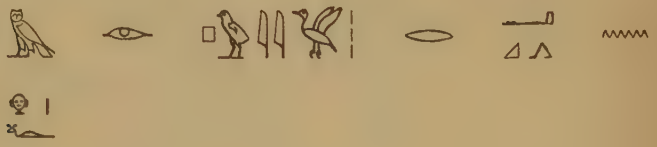
447. 

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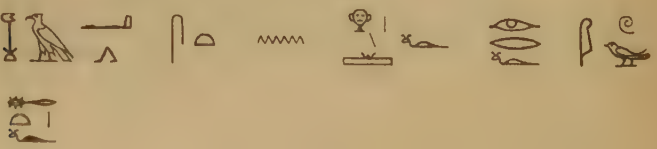
451. 

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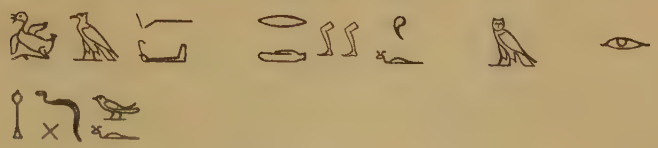
453. 

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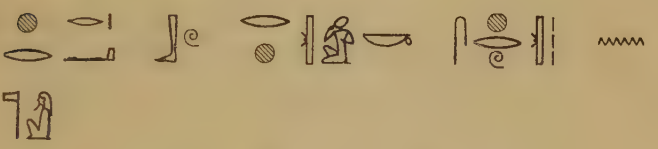
455. 

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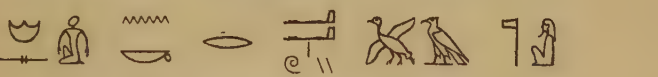
457. 

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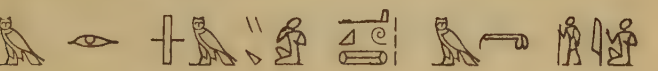
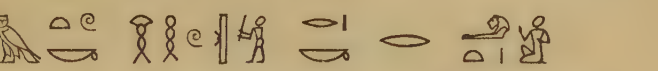
460. 

461. 

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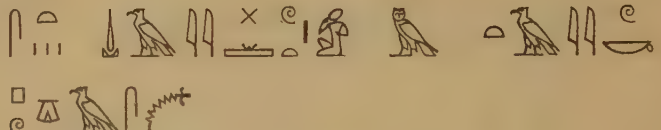
463. 

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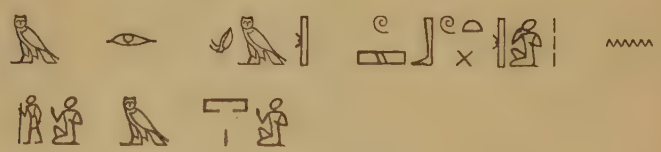
469. 

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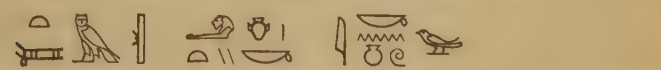
472. 

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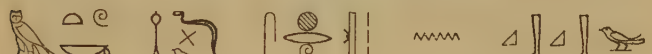
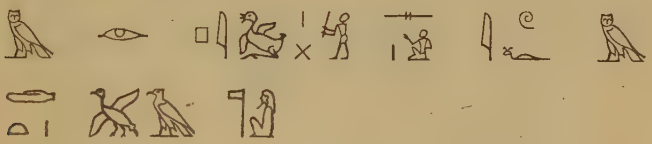
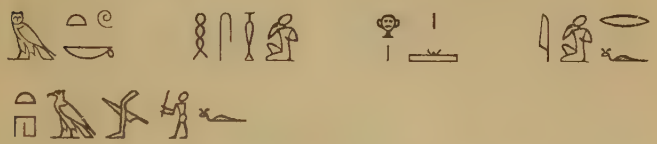
479. 

480. 

481. 

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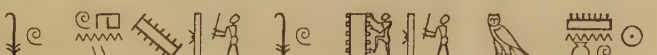
484. 

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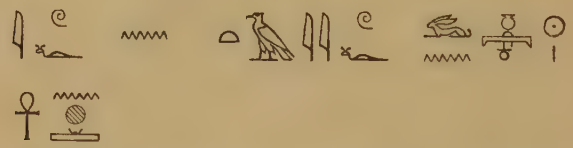
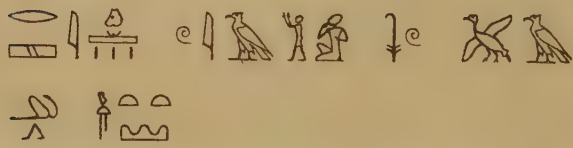
487. 

488. 

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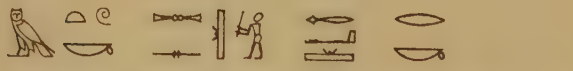
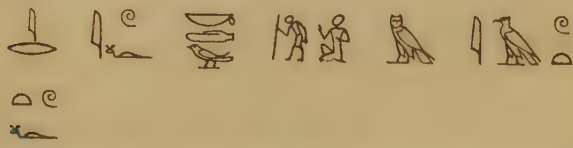
492. 

493. 

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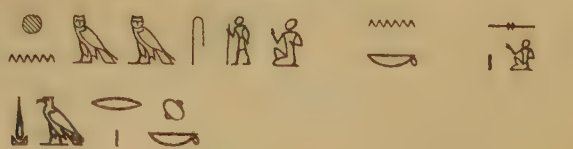
495. 

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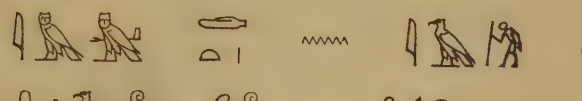
499. 

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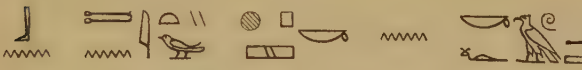
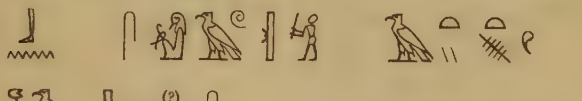
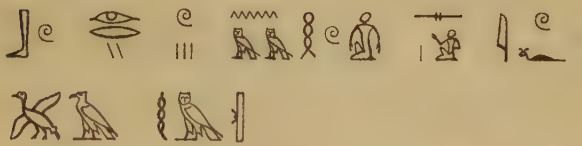
501. 

502. 

503. 

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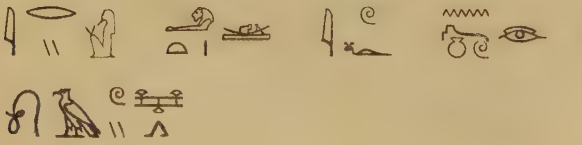
505. 

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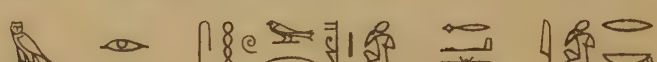
508. 

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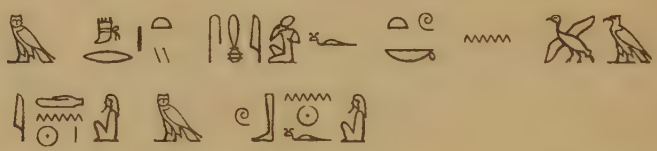
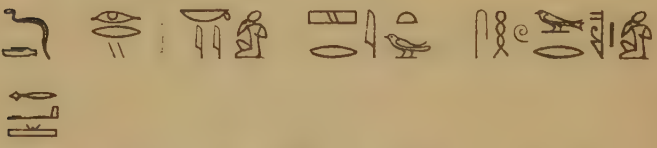
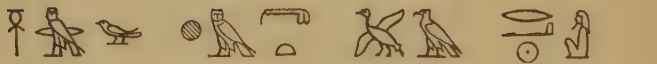
510. 

511. 

512. 

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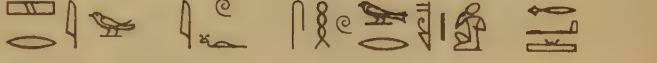
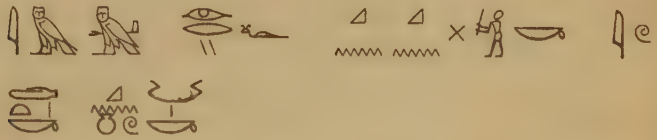
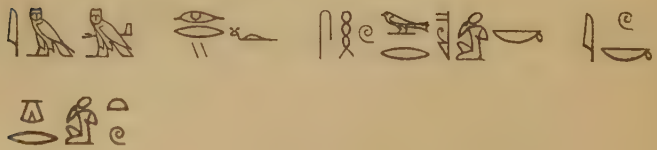
513. 

514. 

515. 

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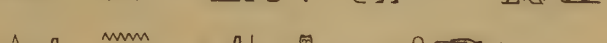
516. 

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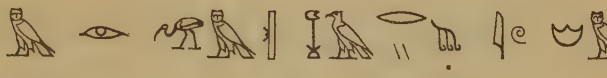
521. 

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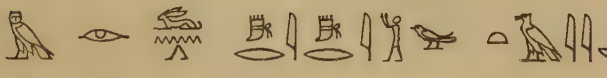
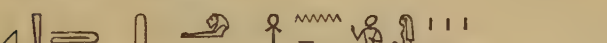
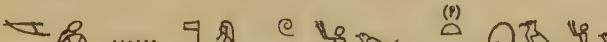
523. 

524. 

525. 

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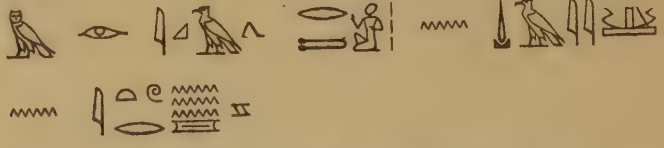
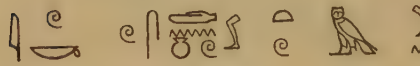
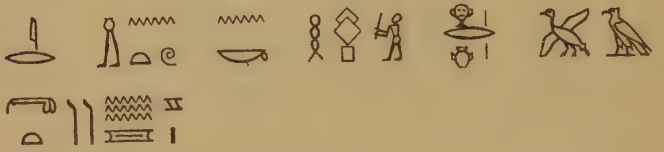
528. 

529. 

530. 

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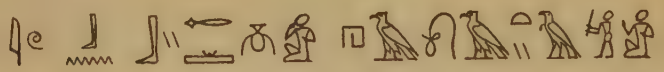
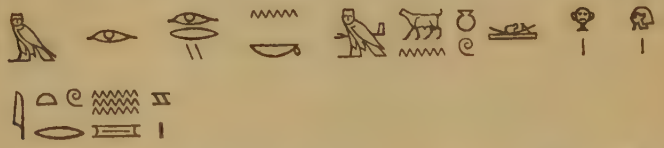
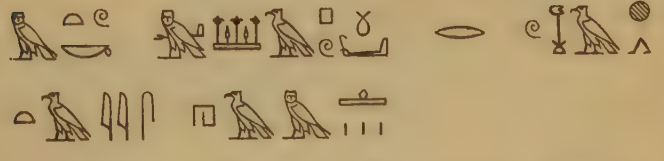
533. 

534. 

535. 

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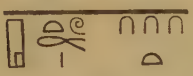
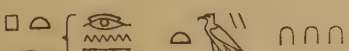
538. 

539. 

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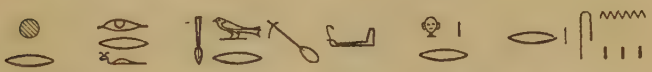
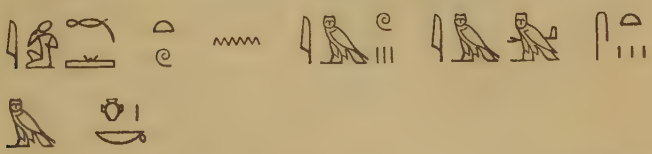
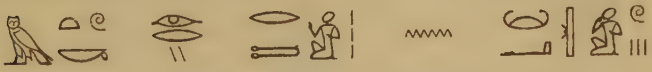
544. 

545. 

546. 

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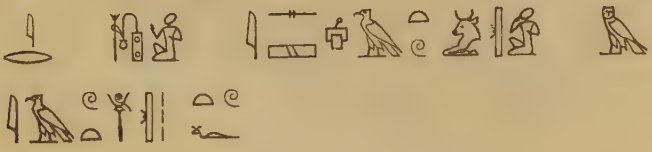
548. 

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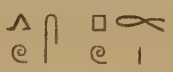
550. 

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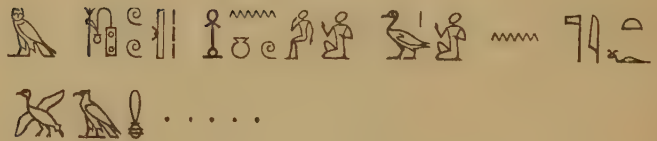
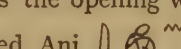
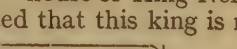
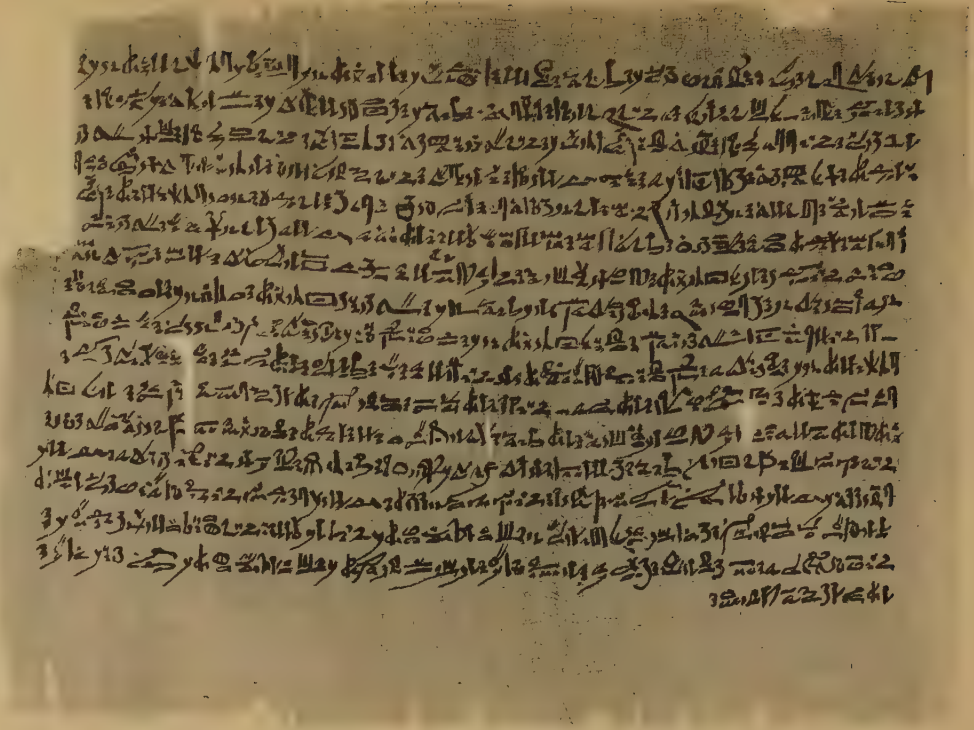
551. 

THE TEACHING OF THE SCRIBE ANI, WHICH WAS WRITTEN FOR HIS SON, KHENSU-ḤETEP.

The Teaching of the scribe Ani is preserved in a hieratic papyrus which was written under the XXIst or XXIInd dynasty, and now forms No. 4 of the Collection of Papyri in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. This papyrus is said to have been found, together with other Egyptian papyri (Nos. 5 and 7, according to Mariette's numbering) and a collection of Coptic letters written on papyrus, in a wooden box in the tomb of a Christian monk at Dêr al-Madînah, or Western Thebes. Papyrus No. 5 contains part of the Demotic text of the story of Khāmuas, the great magician and son of Rameses II, and No. 7 contains prayers in the hieratic character addressed to the hours of the night, and a description of them. If all these documents were found together in the tomb of a Christian monk it is difficult not to assume that this monk (who lived at a time when the knowledge of the old language is commonly supposed to have died out) was a student of ancient books of moral precepts, and could read and understand works written in the hieratic and Demotic characters. The hieratic text of the Teaching of Ani was published by Mariette in *Papyrus Égyptiens du Musée de Boulaq*, Paris, 1871. A description of the contents of the text was published by E. de Rougé in the *Moniteur* for August, 1861,

and a full translation of it in *Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, Paris, 1871, pp. 340–350. A short account of the papyrus was published by Maspero in the *Journal de Paris*, Mars, 1871, and Chabas republished the hieratic text, with a hieroglyphic transcript and a French translation with a commentary, in *L'Égyptologie*, Chalon, 1871–1878. The Teaching of Ani was also treated at considerable length by Amélineau in his *La Morale Égyptienne quinze siècles avant notre ère*, Paris, 1892. In this work he printed a hieroglyphic transcript and a French translation, and enunciated the view that the composition was not the work of Ani, but of his son, Khensu-ḥetep. This view is not generally accepted. Although the papyrus No. 4 cannot have been written earlier than the XXIst dynasty, it is not at all certain that the composition itself does not belong to a much earlier period.[1] The papyrus lacks one or more columns at the beginning, so it is impossible to know the contents of the title of this Teaching, and how the opening lines ran. Parts of them are given in the fragments printed on Plate 15 of Mariette's edition, but the text does not become understandable until we reach Plate 16, line 1. There we have :—

[1] A scribe's tablet at Berlin (see *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 82 (1894), p. 127) contains the opening words of a copy of the Teaching of a scribe called Ani,  , who is there said to be of the "house of King Nefer-[ka]-Rā-Terà," and it has been suggested that this king is no other than the Nefer-ka-Rā-terr,  , who is mentioned in the two Abydos King-Lists (Nos. 49 and 23). If this Ani be the author of the Teaching here described, the work must have been written before the XIIth dynasty.



The Teaching that Ani the Scribe wrote for his son Khensuḥetep.

From the Būlâḳ Papyrus (ed. Mariette), tome I., plate 23.

PLATE VIII.

I. Work a woman (*i.e.*, marry a wife) whilst thou art a young man ; she will produce thy son. If thou dost produce thy son whilst thou art still young, thou wilt be able to train him to become a proper man. Good is it for a man if his men (*i.e.*, posterity) are numerous, [and] he will be applauded by reason of his children.

II. Make (*i.e.*, celebrate) the festival of thy God, repeat continually his praises. God (literally, Gods) is angry with the man who breaks (or invades) his ordinance. Establish (or, set up), witnesses round about thy offerings. He who has done this has [done] most excellently for himself.

III. If it be that a man comes to seek for thy opinions (or, views), I pray thee to let it cause thee to sink thyself in the writings of the past.

IV. The opportunity having come [and let pass], one may seek [in vain] to seize another.

V. Let His (*i.e.*, God's) Will be exalted. Singing, dancing, and incense form his service (or, perhaps, form his meat and drink). The receipt of homage is among what belongs to him. Offer these things to the god, so as to magnify his name.

VI. If there be a man who is drunk, go not into his presence (?) at the instigation of another, even though his making [thee] to enter would make thee honoured (or, revered).

VII. Look not too closely at the behaviour of a neighbour in thy (his ?) house. Whatsoever thine eye sees thou shalt hold thy peace. Describe it not to any person in the street, lest the man who hears of it shall later inflict upon thee a punishment of a serious character [and perhaps] death.

VIII. Guard thyself well against the woman from the outer district who is not known in her

town (or, quarter of the city). Cast no longing glances after her as do those who are like to her, and have no carnal intercourse or other relation with her. She is a deep ditch (or, lake), and where her currents will lead no man knows. When a woman, whose husband is absent from her, [shows her] beauty and invites thee to her every day, saying that there are no witnesses present, and puts her net in position [to snare thee], it is a great, abominable deed deserving the death penalty for a man to hearken to her, even if she has not succeeded in her object. . . . Yet men will commit abominable deeds in order to gratify this one passion (?).

IX. Go not in and out of the town-council, so that thy name may not stink.

X. When an interrogation in court takes place, multiply not thy words. Hold thy peace and thou wilt occupy a favourable position. Make thyself no mere tongue-wagger.

XI. Noisy, vain repetitions are an abomination to the sanctuary of God. Pray thou thy prayer with a loving heart, all the words (or, petitions) are hidden. He will do for thee all that is necessary for thy daily needs; He will hearken to thy supplications, receiving thine offerings.

XII. Pour out libations to thy father and to thy mother, who rest in the cemetery in the mountain. The water is a witness for those who offer what is due, or what is acceptable to the gods. Fail not to do this . . . . . what thou doest thy son shall do for thee.

XIII. Undertake nothing as the result of having drunk beer, for if thou dost, words which can have a second meaning may come forth from thy mouth without thy knowing it. When thou fallest down and breakest thy bones (or, members)

there will be no one there to put out his hand [to help thee]. Thy boon companions will stand up and say, "Away with this drunken beast!" When people come to have speech with thee they will find thee lying prostrate on the ground, and thou wilt be as helpless as a little child.

XIV. Go not forth from thy house to any place with which thou art not acquainted; have no hankering for it. Eat at any place which thou lovest, remember that [place] which thou knowest.

XV. I pray thee to set before thyself the path that must be traversed, and let old age testify to thee this fact. Thou must be found to have prepared for thyself a fine tomb in the cemetery in the mountain, which shall be the Ṭuat (?) that shall hide thy body. I pray thee to set it before thee in the midst of thy daily occupations and the business under thy eye. [Do this] even as did the very ancient ones who [now] rest in their sepulchres (?). The man who does thus on his own behalf suffers no calamity, and it shall be well with thee if thou also art furnished with thy tomb (or, domain). Thy messenger shall come to thee to take thee, he shall find thee provided with a tomb, assuredly thou shalt have no anxiety. Verily his terrifying form will come and set itself before thee; say not, "I am too young for thee to snatch me away." Thou knowest not thy death (*i.e.*, how or when it shall be). Death comes and bears away the child who is at the breast of his mother, as well as the man who has reached old age.

XVI. Behold, I will declare unto thee also other good advice whereon thou shalt meditate in thy heart. Act upon it and thou wilt become a good man, and evil hap of every kind shall be far from thee.

XVII. Take good heed to avoid the man of evil speech. . . . . Keep thyself far from men who act crookedly, and make none of them thy companion. [On the other hand]

XVIII. Be friendly and associate thyself with one who is just and true, when thou hast observed the manner in which he acts. Thy rectitude will take possession of his balance; their . . . . . strengthen thy hand to him that is in thy house, since thy possessions are under his care.

XIX. Let not thy hand waste thy goods on a man whom thou knowest not; he comes to thee [bringing] ruin. When [thy] goods are placed in their storehouses (?) he comes to thee as one who reports, and he has the safe keeping of thine own possessions. Thy people will find him on thy road.

XX. Gifts being made to the small man, he acquires the [greatness of the] great man, even as does a brick built up (?) [with others].

XXI. Teaching in the house is life; by the use of correction (or, chastisement) thou thyself shalt find it.

XXII. Let thine eye be open, so that thou dost not come out as a beggar. The man who becomes one of the many inert, helpless folk will never be applauded as is the man who has marked out the course of his life.

XXIII. Open not up a friendship with the slave of another man. If his name stinks it will become a matter for evil report; if he be a great and important man, though unknown [to thee], he will rise up, and an answer must be returned to him concerning the theft of his servant, whom he will seize with his hand, and he will follow after him and command him to safeguard that which was in his [master's] house. [If thou doest this] thou wilt sorrow, saying, "What shall I do?" and

all thy household will upbraid thee, to make thee to know upon earth that a man seeks to found a house [for himself].

XXIV. Thou markest out an estate and settest bounds to it. Thou makest the forepart of it into arable land to produce fodder and fencest it in, thou plantest avenues of sycamore trees round about thy house, thou fillest thy hand with flowers of every kind, so that thine eye may gaze upon them, but in spite of all this, thou wilt feel discontent. Lucky is the man who does not forsake these things.

XXV. Fill not thy heart with love for the possessions of another man ; guard thyself [against this], and do it not. Support not thyself with the things that belong to another man unless he has made them enter thy house.

XXVI. Build thou a house for thyself when thou findest enmity in a dwelling shared with others (?). Say not :—The father of my mother has a house. . . . . When thou goest to divide the property with thy brethren the granaries shall be thine.

XXVII. God grant that children may be born to thee whom thy father knows. As for him that is in want, let every one have his fill in his house ; be thou his girdle wall. Make none destitute at thy desire, for it is God Who provides that whereon men live.

XXVIII. Sit not whilst another man stands, if he be older than thyself, or if he has attained to a higher grade in his profession than thyself.

XXIX. A man cannot expect to attain to a good disposition if he speaks with an evil intent.

XXX. Make thyself to walk daily in the path of thy hands (*i.e.*, a correct path), and thou shalt succeed in reaching the place whither thou wouldst go (?)

XXXI. What is there that remains (or, continues) to be spoken about every day? A profession carries with it its regulations (or, obligations). A woman must necessarily talk about (or, discuss) her husband, a man in office must discuss his work.

XXXII. Make use of no evil speech towards any who comes (?); a word [dropped] on the day of thy gossiping may turn thy house upside down.

XXXIII. If thou findest thyself able to keep an even mind during the time when thou art friendly with everybody, when adversity comes thou wilt find thyself able to bear it.

XXXIV. The boastful flatterer makes himself a supporter [of thine]. Now, even the useful dispositions of the man who is a flatterer will be as dirt to [thy] brother. The members of thy household will sing and rejoice outwardly, but will weep in their hearts.

XXXV. If thou art a well-doing man thou wilt be observed. Whether thou art with many (or, wealthy), or whether thou art alone, thy kinsfolk will find thee, and will do everything that thou commandest.

XXXVI. Make thyself learned in the written rolls. Go deeply into the written rolls, and I beseech thee to set them in thy heart, and then everything that thou sayest will be valuable (or, profitable). If a scribe be placed in any profession (or, occupation) he must consult the writings that deal with the same. The governor of the White House (the Treasury, the Bêt al-Mâl) has no son, and the Keeper of the Seal has no heir. Princes value the scribe. His hand is his profession, it cannot be handed on to children. Their needy state is his living, their seniors form his protection.

XXXVII. Let not thy heart be exalted (or, displayed) before the flatterer (?). A word capable of two meanings, spoken hastily, if it comes forth from thy mouth, being repeated will make thee bitter enemies. A man is overthrown and ruined through his tongue. Take good heed that thou dost not thyself produce thine own ruin.

XXXVIII. Since the body of a man is more capacious than a government granary, and is full of answers of every kind, thou shalt make a selection of those that are good and give expression to them, and those that are evil thou shalt guard closely within thyself. A violent answer sets weapons of fight in motion ; speak therefore with the sweetness (or, graciousness) of affection, and [thou shalt be beloved ?] for ever.

XXXIX. He who has been accused by a liar in defiance of God, Who judges the right, may return an answer, but his (the liar's) calamity shall come and shall carry him off.

XL. When thou art making thy offerings to God, take good heed that thou doest not that which He holds in abomination. Discuss not the forms in which He appears, walk not with bold and careless strides when He makes Himself manifest [in the streets]. Thrust not thyself among those who bear Him [in his shrine]. Bawl not [the words of] His books. Take heed not to add aught to the praises that are directed to be sung to Him. Let thine eye watch carefully His dispensations [and] wrath, and do thou adore His name. He gives will (or, strength) to millions of forms, He makes great him that magnifies Him. The God of this earth is Shu (*i.e.*, the Sun-god), who is on the horizon, and his similitudes are upon the earth. The incense which is offered is their food daily. His rising makes all green things to flourish.

XLI. Increase (or, make double) the bread-cakes which thou givest to thy mother, and carry her as she carried thee. She carried thee as a heavy load many times, and left me nothing to do [for thee]. When she brought thee forth after thy months, she set thee like a veritable yoke upon her neck, and her breasts were in thy mouth for three years. Whilst thou wast growing, disgusting in thy excrement, she felt no disgust at thee, saying, "What I have to do!" Afterwards she placed thee in the house of instruction (*i.e.*, school), and whilst thou wast being taught [thy] letters, she [came] to thee there day by day, regularly and unfailingly, with bread-cakes and beer from her house. When thou art a young man, and dost marry a wife, and art the master and possessor of a house, I pray thee to look [back] at thine own childhood and how thou wast reared, and do for the child that shall be born to thee everything that thy mother did for thee. Let it not happen that she has cause to blame thee, and may she not lift up her hands to God [in complaint] and may He not hear her supplications.

XLII. Eat not bread whilst another stands by [hungry] and thou dost not stretch out thy hand to him with bread in it. It has never (?) been known whether a man will become destitute. One man has riches, and another man is poor; bread is constant (?). . . . . The man who was rich a year ago is a stable servant this year.

XLIII. Be not anxious to fill thy belly, for whither thy course tends is unknown. . . . . I will give thee another good [saying ?].

XLIV. The course that a stream followed last year has changed this year and moved elsewhere: large masses of water have become tracts of dry land; the dykes have become abysses. There

exists not for a man one state of life (*i.e.*, nothing remains unchanged); this is the answer of the lord of life.

XLV. I would have thee note that whether thou pass thy period of existence in a lowly condition or in a high one thou wilt not attain to full happiness; go forth on thy way, and thy foot shall find its place.

XLVI. Go not into the house of a man in a too familiar manner, but go into it only after thou hast been announced. When he greets thee with words of welcome (?) from his mouth, thou wilt understand his views [concerning thee]. A repast will be then set out.

XLVII. He who hates waiting comes without being invited.

XLVIII. Without making haste the runner reaches his goal.

XLIX. Let a man [give] himself to God. Take good heed to thyself daily for God, to-morrow as well as to-day. Make thyself to observe what God does; He will punish (?) the man who punishes (?) thee.

L. Go not into a crowd of people if thou findest that thou art stirred up [to fight] in the presence of men who are about to strike each other.

LI. Make no trespass (*i.e.*, claim) in any domain, guard thyself carefully from tampering with any title deeds, so that thou mayest not be seized and accused before the Council, in the presence of the governors after the witnesses have made their depositions.

LII. Remove thyself far from the men who transgress the laws (*i.e.*, are sedition-mongers). The man who is silent of mouth (*i.e.*, is of a peaceful disposition) among soldiers (or, troops) is not haled before the Council and accused [of sedition], and

is not put under restraint, and knows not propitiatory gifts (*i.e.*, has no need to bribe men to hold their tongues).

LIII. The actions of a man who loves one are profitable. He is free from his deeds of abomination, thou art safe from many annoyances (?). Take good heed to avoid any break [in this friendship].

LIV. The chief of the flock which leads it to the pasture-grounds is only an animal like the rest (?).

LV. When the crops on the cultivated lands in the fields are laid waste, then the spirits [of the ancestors] are appealed to in earnest.

LVI. The man who is of an indolent (?) disposition makes strife to arise in his house, and he himself destroys the boundaries thereof in very truth.

LVII. Attempt not to direct a married woman in her house, when thou knowest that she is a perfect housewife. Say not to her, "Where is that (*i.e.*, such and such a thing)? Bring it to us," when she has put [the object] in the proper place. Make thine eye to watch her, and hold thy peace, and then thou wilt be able to appreciate her wise and good management. Happy wilt thou be if thou art hand in hand with her. There are very many men who do not understand [this]. The interfering man only sets confusion in his house, and never finds himself the actual master thereof in all matters, in reality. He who would be master of his house should speedily make firm his mind.

LVIII. Follow not after [the counsels of] a woman, and let her not lead captive thy understanding.

LIX. Answer not a man in authority over thee when he is wroth, but set him aside (or, make him

to be remote from thee, *i.e.*, remove thyself far from him). Speak thou that which is sweet (*i.e.*, return him a soft answer) when he speaks words that are bitter (or, rankle), and pacify his heart.[1]

LX. Answers that provoke to strife carry [in their train] staves that will overthrow thy frowardness. Anger will react upon thy occupation (or, affairs).

LXI. Let not thy heart grieve concerning thyself, for it will reverse its action and will speedily applaud thee after its temporary depression.

LXII. When thy words are such as to be restful for the heart, the heart inclines itself gladly to receive them.

LXIII. Seek after silence and submit thyself to the man who keeps it. Keep on friendly terms with the administrative officer of thy district, and give him no opportunity of bringing a charge against thee. Give him food when it is in thy house and do not set aside his request. Say to him words of approval. . . . . .

LXIV. At thy entrances into the town (or, village) at first there is acclamation, but at thy goings forth thou must save thyself by thy hand.

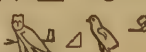
LXV. The answer of the scribe Khensu-hetep to his father, the scribe Ani.

Oh, I wish that I were even as thou art! being known (or, learned) like thyself. Then certainly I would act according to thy testimonies, and the son would be brought to the position of the father, and every man would be drawn to be like him (*i.e.*, be of the same character). Thou art a man

[1] Compare Proverbs xv, 4.

with exalted aspirations, whose every word is chosen (or, selected). The son who speaks words of contempt [concerning] books [of admonition] has a depraved judgement in him. Thy words give rest and satisfaction to my heart, and my heart inclines willingly to receive them. Nay, more, my breast (or, mind) rejoices in them. But make not thy excellent instructions to be too numerous. A young man who has borne (or, endured) good counsels has not hitherto been found to put into practice teaching and testimonies because he has the books on his tongue (*i.e.*, because he can quote glibly the precepts of the fathers).

LXVI. THE SCRIBE ANI MAKES ANSWER TO HIS SON KHENSU-ḤETEP THE SCRIBE, SAYING :—

Grieve not thy heart by pondering on these depressing matters, and take care how thou makest thy complaints, which will in no way afflict my heart. I have testified to thee concerning . . . . . our speech which thou sayest thou dost wish to read. The old bull which has smashed the slaughter-house to pieces, is unable to get free from the place where he has kicked and struggled, and is obliged to fashion his will according to the discipline of the herdsman who rears (or, fattens) cattle. The fierce-eyed lion lays aside his ferocity and paces side by side with the poor-spirited ass. The horse enters under the yoke, and goes hither and thither obediently. The dog hearkens to the words spoken to him and follows his master. The *kaâriu* beast, , carried a load of the *maqurâu* pots,  ,

which its dam never carried. The wild goose flies out into the lake where the snarer of water-fowl pursues it and drags it shrieking into his net. The Sûdânî man is made to learn the language of the people of Egypt, as are also the Syrians and every other foreign people. Therefore have I made thee to know concerning every profession; and having heard thou [now] knowest what to do.

LXVII. The scribe Khensu-ḥetep, the son of the scribe Ani, makes answer, saying:—

Make not to be terrifying thy mighty deeds, for I am overburdened with the things that thou hast laid down. A man does not become slack of hand (apathetic?) through hearing an answer in its proper place. Now a man is the fellow (counterpart?) of God. Their (*i.e.*, men's) admonitions (or, orderings) must be hearkened to; a man possesses his own answer (?). The one knows not his fellow. There is a great number of every kind of bad ones, and one knows not his teaching. There may be one possessing meaning, but many are worthless. Everything that thou hast said is excellent (or, perfect). Make no . . . . . of them . . . . . from the time of the blessed dead. I swear to thee an oath by God that I will carry them out. Set them (*i.e.*, my words) on thy path (*i.e.*, before thee).

LXVIII. The scribe Ani makes answer to his son, the scribe Khensu-ḥetep, saying:—

Put behind thy back these many words which are too remote [from the subject] to be heard (*i.e.*, understood). The dry branch of the tree

which [lies] on the ground, and which has been matured (?) by the light of the day and the darkness of the night, is taken by the handicraftsman and worked straight, and made into the walking-stick of princes; but the sound wood [of the tree] he makes into beams (or, planks). O thou simple-hearted one, is it the wish of thy heart to give (or, take) an oath, or art thou still feeble (?) Observe what one who knows well the strength which is in his hand is like; [he is like] the child who lies in his mother's bosom. When the child knows that he has sucked [enough], behold, he finds his mouth and cries out "Give me bread."

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DATE DUE

MAY 2 3 1973

JUN 6 1973

MAY 5 1983

May 19 1983

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0 0021 0004726 1

299.31
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The teaching of Amen-em-apt.
TITLE

39950

299.31
B927p Budge, Ernest A.T.W.
The teaching of
Amen-em-apt.

39950